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NOTES

ON

ANCIENT BRITAIN

AND

THE BRITONS.

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BY

WILLIAM BARNES, B.D.

"Tri Chôf Beirdd Ynys Prydain,
Côf Clyw; Côf Cân; a Chôf Coelbren."

"Three Memorials of the Bards of the Island of Britain,
Memorial of Tradition; Memorial of Song; and Memorial of Letters."
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PREFACE.

THIS little Work has grown out of a collection for a Course of Lectures on "Ancient Britain and the Britons." If I have cast any new light on the subjects under hand, it has been by a careful use of my little knowledge of the British language, which I believe Antiquaries have too often neglected.

"To study tribes without their speech,
Is to grope for what our sight should teach."

W. BARNES.

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ON THE

BRITONS AND ANCIENT BRITAIN.

FOOD OF THE BRITONS.

Cæsar says "The inland people (of Britain) *in general*, do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh;" but it does not therefore follow that they were such savages as not to know anything of tillage. It may still be said with truth, of the south side of Dorset, that its worthy yeomen are mostly corn farmers; whereas, further inland, as in the vale of Blackmore, the farmers are herd-owners, and sow but little corn. The land makes the difference of the farming, which is not owing to the ignorance of the Blackmore men.

Cæsar himself allows, that he found so much corn in Kent, that his men freely helped themselves to it, and brought stores of it daily into his camp, till the Britons sprang out of the woods on them, as they had laid aside the sword for the more peaceful, but not very conscientious, labours of the sickle. Early

writers, such as Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, quote still earlier ones as taking Britain for a corn land, or a land given to the worship of Ceres, which is a mythological personification of corn. The corn-mill of the Romans, till the time of Augustus, was the house-mill, worked by hand or by an ass, and Vitruvius would seem the first Roman who wrote of a water-mill; whereas British proverbs and triads speak of the ancient British *Breuan* as a corn-mill worked by an outer force, and a part of it, the *cliccied y wysgi* (stream-bar), seems to have connected it with water; and the word *cog*, as of a mill-wheel, is a pure British word.

It has been said, though I do not exactly know on what grounds, that the Druids lived on acorns and berries. It is true that sloth was forbidden to the Druid by one of the old Bardic Triads; and as he was to be a pattern of holy and unsensual life, we may believe of the Druids that their rules of food, like those of some of the orders of monks in later times, were very strait.

An old Welsh saying speaks of acorns as a food; "Better a free meal of *acorns*, than a honey meal on trust," and an old Cymro declares he would rather live on the mountains and eat *fern-roots* than do some deed against his will: but it does not follow from thence that the fern-root was with the Britons what it has been to the Maoris of New Zealand, a

kind of bread. That the ancient Britons eat of the nuts and berries and other fruits which were borne by the more wooded land of their time, we may well believe, and a markworthy proof of it was many years ago afforded in the neighbourhood of Dorchester.

Mr. Maclean was formerly, (about 22 years ago,) living at Dorchester as a dentist. and wishing to learn how far disease of the teeth affected the Britons, he got permission to open one of the barrows on the Ridgway hills. He found in it, at a depth of many feet below the surface, a *cistvaen*, with bones, and a quantity of hard brittle stuff, which was of a hue not unlike that of peat, and which he deemed to be the contents of the colon; and on pounding some of it, he found it contained very many seeds, which were those of the raspberry. Some of these seeds—six, as I have since heard—were planted in a pot, at equal distances, and at marked spots, and placed under the care of a German gardener (Hartweg), who knew nothing of the seeds, or of the object of the experiment. In a few weeks four of the marked spots yielded young plants, of which one died, but the others throve, and bore leaves, if not fruit. This fact, not to insist on its value in botany, showed that the Britons fed freely on the wild fruits of the land.

We are not, however, to believe that the Britons

had nothing else, or nothing better than berries to eat, since it is clear from a coin found in this Briton's cistvaen, that he lived as late as the Emperor Hadrian, whereas we are told by Julius Cæsar that he, in his time, found the Britons herd-owners, if not corn farmers, and therefore a people with beef for their board; and that they kept hares and geese for pleasure, though they did not deem it right to eat them. It seems by the paper of "H.," in a late number of the *Dorset County Chronicle*, that Dr. Daubeny denies Mr. Maclean to have found seeds deposited *at the time* the tumulus was made. If, however, Mr. Maclean told me the truth (for I knew him), he had the same evidence that the seeds were deposited before the tumulus was made, as that the cistvaen and bones were deposited before the tumulus was formed over them. He told me, with some of the brown seedy stuff in his hand, that he had found it, with bones of a man, in a cistvaen under one of the barrows somewhere on Ridgway hill, and that he had found it in such a place with regard to the bones, as would allow him to believe it was some of the contents of the colon. I recolleet well that the seeds were not loose, but imbedded in a kind of roll of brown stuff, all but stone-hard on the outside, but brittle in the inside. I recollect also that on one occasion, he showed me a sprig of raspberry, which he told me he had received from a

botanical friend as the growth of one of his seeds, and that as his facts of the finding of the seeds were not fully believed, he had sent for the men who had opened the barrow under his eyes, and had found the seedy stuff in the cistvaen, and I saw two or three labourers come into his lodging while he told me they were going to set their names to the facts of the case for confirmation of his own statement.

As Boadicea is said to have taken an omen with a hare, it has been thought by some, that it was hallowed to divination, and so forbidden to the board. It seems likely that the hare was not eaten by the Cymry in the tenth century, since by the laws of Hoel Dda it is not protected by any geald, but is reckoned as wholly worthless, and for a strange reason, "because one month it is male and the next female," whereas the poor goose had risen to some estimation, as the law raised its life to the honour of a penny or two pennies geald.

Mead was an early drink of the Britons, and Welsh ale is spoken of as most welcome to the Saxon palate in the Saxon laws. An old Welsh saying recommends that, "He that would be merry, should drink wine, he that would be strong, should drink ale (cwrw), and he that would be healthy, should drink mead." A couplet in an englyn by an old Cymro, Hugh Llwyd Cynvael, makes flummery and milk to be a common Welsh food of his time:—

"Yn Holand menyn helaeth,
Y'nghymru llymru a llaeth."

In Holland butter good store,
In Wales flummery and milk.

The laws of Hoel Dda direct that the door-keeper was to be helped to drink when the "apostle drink," or drink to the apostles (Gwirawd i'r Ebysdyl) was given. But what was the drink called the apostle drink I know not.

TATTOOING AND CLOTHES, &c., OF THE BRITONS.

In the time of Cæsar, and later writers, it seems the Britons were tattooed, and it is said that they dyed themselves with blue, by Glastum, or Glastun. *Glas* is British for *blue*, and *Glastenneu* is the holm, or scarlet-oak, which may have afforded the dye. Cæsar tells us that the Britons tattooed themselves that they might be more frightful to their foes; whereas, Herodian says that the Britons painted (tattooed) their bodies with agreeable devices, drawing on them all kinds of figures, which was the reason why they wore no clothes; as their pride did not allow them to draw a veil over so much beauty. The main theories of the end of tattooing must be, that it is (1) for comeliness; (2) for ugliness, or terror to foes; (3) for tribe-marks; or (4) for heraldry.

Against the theory, that it is always to terrify foes in fight, we meet the fact, that the Tonga men did not tattoo the face, and in many of the South Sea Islands and elsewhere, the women are more or less tattooed. The Harari women tattoo their bosoms with stars, and many of the women of Bidjie, "have the flesh of the foreheads risen in the shape of marbles, and their cheeks similarly cut up and deformed." Both sexes of the Indians of Nicaragua tattooed their bodies with stone knives, and blackened the lines by a kind of coal called *tile*; and Lieut. Hooper says of the Tuski, that the faces of the women are tattooed on the chin, in diverging lines; and as we can hardly impute to the ladies such disaffection to Venus, as to believe they would wilfully make themselves ugly, we give up the theory of tattooing only for terror.

Tattoo may become a tribe-mark, as sundry tribes may tattoo themselves in different patterns. The Maoris may choose circular lines, the Tonga men, straight or wavy ones, and the Tahite people, stars and other natural forms; and some tribes may tattoo the face, while others may leave it clear. But it does not seem that the tattoo was chosen for a tribe-mark as its end. In some cases we may believe that it was used as heraldry. Among the Tuski, brave men, of great fighting or hunting deeds, are marked for an act of prowess by a permanent

mark on the face: among the Esquimaux, a brave harpooner is decorated with a badge of honour, a blue line drawn athwart his face, over the bridge of his nose. The little that is done in tattooing by our sailors, when they line anchors, or letters, as P, for Poll, or B. S, for Black-eyed Susan, on their arms, with gunpowder, must be ranked under the head of tribe-markings or heraldry, rather than terror, as their markings are mostly under their sleeves, and yet are a kind of mark of the class "Jack Tar." Herodian's theory of handsomeness seems to us, therefore, more likely than Cæsar's of terrific ugliness; for, if any village Goody were to make herself, by patches and stripes, so ugly as to frighten her neighbours' children, she might frighten her own; and if it be answered, that Goody's children would know beforehand that it was only Goody under the lines of terror, it would only show that they would be lines of terror only so long as they were not understood; and since all tribes of Britons were tattooed, all of them would understand the tattooed foe to be a plain Briton, and would be no more fear-smitten by him than by their own image in water.

Or if, on the other hand, Britons did terrify British foes by their skinmarks, then, no sooner would two warring tribes have come within sight of each other, than both of them would have run off with terror, and they would never have fought,

which was not, unhappily, the case. On review of all cases, then, the aim of tattooing seems to have been comeliness, or ornament; and it is said that the Tonga men deemed it unmanly and unbecoming not to be tattooed; and Captain Elphinston writes that the skinmarkings on some inhabitants of the Samoan Islands, gave them the appearance of being clad in tight knee-breeches. But Herodian, who writes at one place, that the Britons were unwilling to conceal their skin-charms by clothes, tells us in another, that they were not acquainted with the use of clothes, but wore iron about their necks and waists, and deemed it an ornament, and a token of riches. We know not on what travellers' tales Herodian wrote that they did not know the use of clothes, and that they refrained from wearing them for the sake of their tattooings, when Cæsar tells us they wore for the most part the skins of beasts. Few men would at all times like a load of clothes, as we know from the joy of the leaping and laughing child, when his mother has withdrawn, at bedtime, the last piece of linen swaddling from his free limbs, and the better feeling with which we could cast off most of the bands and swathings of our linen and woollen—if fashion allowed us—on a summer's day. But Herodian finds another good of the very little incumbrance of clothes. The Britons, he says, often swim or wade into the bogs, up to the waist in

water and mud, which they do not reck, as the *most* of their bodies are naked. Upon such statements as these of Herodian, that the Britons were not acquainted with clothes, and, moreover, that they would not wear them, as they might hide their skin-lines, and, again, that they were almost unclad, we may believe that they made a difference between summer and winter, as in a line of Aneurin, who wrote in the sixth century, the *archen* (shoe) is said to be dirty in December; and in another, that in May, the old man is merry without (archenad), or was shoeless. Several kinds of foot-gear are named in writings from the sixth to the twelfth century, as the *esgid*, or light shoe, *gwentas*, a high shoe or half boot, or kitty boot, and the *botas* boot, and *botasau ymnyglog*, or plaited greaves. Cæsar says, the Britons of his time wore only a moustache, but in the tenth or twelfth century, the beard was in high honour, and a wife's wishing disgrace on her husband's beard, was one of the three causes for which he might strike her. In Cæsar's time the Britons wore long hair, as Taliesin shows the men of North Wales did in the sixth century. In the twelfth century, we learn by Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh were cropped, though afterwards they left their hair to hang at full length. In the twelfth century the Welsh women, as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, wore on their heads the comely head-gear,—

which has been well chosen by the fair daughters of some other lands,—a square scarf or veil, *Llen*, the place of which has since been unworthily holden by the black round hat, the origin of which I know not.

In the time of Howel Dda, weaving was a trade, as it is enacted, that if a weaver-woman should receive yarn or balls, and they should be burnt, or otherwise consumed at her house, she should make them good.

By the laws of Moelmud (Molmutius), the three essentials of a genuine gentleman were, a (brychan) rug, a harp, and a cauldron; the *brychan*, or rug, seems to have been to him what the opossum rug is to the Englishman in the bush of Australia. Among the poor, the *brychan* was spread on a straw-filled mattress.

As early as from the sixth to the tenth century, we find allusions to the richest of ornaments, such as golden spurs, enamelled armour, and buckles, and girdles adorned with gold or silver or gems, the gold ring *(Modrwy)*, and *Thumb-ring* Bodrwy, the *arm-ring* (breichrwy), the *necklace* (mwndlws), and the chain and the golden torch, which was the badge of nobility. The Dorset County Museum contains some interesting specimens of ancient British ornaments, and it is markworthy how much like the ornaments of the ancient Britons are those of the Fellaheen,

or peasants of Goomeh, in Egypt. The Fellaheen women are said to wear necklaces of glass beads and amulets; and among some interesting contributions to the museum from the Rev. H. Moule, is a necklace of glass beads, with amulets of Kimmeridge coal. The Fellaheen wear bracelets of a "penannular shape, the flexibility of the metal sufficing to allow the ends to pass over the wrists and close;" and a similar pair of golden arm-rings (Breichrwy), from the arms of some British lady who was buried in a barrow at Stafford, near Dorchester, has been placed in the museum by H. Williams, Esq. The Fellaheen wear a torch, or neck-circle, with the ends linked together by a hook, precisely like many that have been found in our barrows. Some of the Fallaheen bracelets represent strands of cord entwined into various plaits and twists, and the true British *torch* was of twisted wire, or strands; as the word *torch* means the twist, and it was, most likely, a continuance in gold, of an earlier badge of cord.

The great mark of nobility among the Britons and other Celtic tribes, was the torch, or golden collar. The torch was sometimes called the *Gorthorch*, or high wreath; the *Gordd-dorch*, or neck-wreath; and the *Aurdorch*, the golden wreath. Torchs were among the spoils taken to Rome with Caractacus, and a torch gleamed on the neck of Boadicea, and again on the nobles at the battle of Cattraeth, in the

sixth century, where Aneurin, the noble bard, lost several golden torched sons. The gold torch of Fearaithach (of Ireland), A.D. 46, had wonderful properties. On the neck of a king sitting in judgment it shrunk, and compressed the neck in proportion to his wrong judgment. It would seem as if warriors at close quarters held one another by the torch, as there is an old Welsh saying in the mouth of a man who may challenge another to a game or contest, "Mi dynav y torch a thi" (I'll pull the torch with you.) Everybody knows the case of Titus Manlius, the Roman who slew the Gaulish leader, and took his torch, whence he was called *Torquatus* or the *torched*. The στρεπτὸν which, as Xenophon writes, was given by Cyrus to Syennesis, was clearly a torch, as is shown by its name.

Some of our school-books tell their readers, that the Britons wore the skins of beasts, as if it were a token of great misery; but a good skin, or fur coat, or robe, is no token of misery or want, either in a Russian winter palace, or in an English railway carriage through a snowy day. We are not bound to believe that the Britons pushed their arms through the fore-leg holes of a calf-skin, and walked with its tail trailing behind them. It is true the Mabinogion speak of a herdsman with a skin coat (ruchen-o-grwyn), and the oldest writings speak of a fur or skin robe, *ysgin*, and in the laws of Howel Dda, an ysgin

of a freeholder is rated at 120 pennies, or about six cows, fifty or sixty pounds of our money. More than one kind of commodity, or their names, have come to us from the Celts, through the French, from whom we have taken them, as words of elegance, though we might have disdained them among the Britons, and Welsh peasantry. Thus a *pelisse* is the Celtic *Pèlys*, a skin or fur robe; and we talk of a lady's *trousseau*, whereas, *Trws* (trwsan) is an old British and, most likely, Armoric word for a garment or dress, and cuirass, is in British, *curas*. The Welsh flannel (gwlanen) or some such homespun cloth, white and unfulled, was early worn by the Cymry, and in Hoel's laws a fringed mantle (rhuwch) was rated at 60 pence or three cows. The Welsh have a tradition of a race of men who came to Britain before the Romans; and they call them the Longcoats—*Hir ei peisiau.*

CELTS.

Much has been written of the use, the handling, and the name of the tools called celts, specimens of which are so often seen in collections of the handyworks of the Britons and other races; and most people know that a celt is a flint or metal adze, or some such tool, meant to be wielded either without a handle, or with a short one, for hand

strokes, rather than strokes of the whole arm. The flint, or stone celts, are ground to an edge in a symmetrical form, and the metal ones are cast of a kind of bronze. It is said that Hearn, the antiquary, in the beginning of the last century, first bestowed on these tools the name of *celt*, from the Latin *celtis*, an iron tool for carving, though, if he were a Welsh scholar, he might have taken it it from the British *cellt*, a flint; and whencever he might have taken it, the Latin *celtis* and British *cellt*, seem to have been two forms of the same word, in an older mother tongue. The first adzes of the early Britons seem to have been, like those of other tribes in their stage of civilization, flints broken or ground; and if a Welshman were to ask for a flint for some action, he would be likely to say: "Dowch i mi *Cellt*," bring me a flint, and a Welsh triad says, there are three hard things in the world, *Maen Cellt* (a flint stone), steel, and a miser's heart. The bronze celts, which were of better make than those of flint, had mostly a tang to take a wooden handle, though at one time antiquaries were sorely puzzled to make out how it was fastened on. This has been learnt, however, from the stone and other adzes of tribes such as the Maoris, of New Zealand, who have been found in our own days in a state of civilization much like that of the early Britons; and their tools show us that the handles of the British celts were fastened

on with markworthy skill, by thongs. In chopping tools, the handles may be set, (1) at right angles to the plane of the blade and edge, like our cooper's adze, or (2) in the plane of the blade and edge, like our hatchet, or (3) in the plane of the blade, but at right angles with the edge, and it would seem, from the way in which the Maoris and other such tribes have, in later times, handled their adzes, that the handle of the British celt, when, like the metal one, it had a handle, was a short one fitted to it in the third of the forenamed ways, in a line with the plane of its blade; and the Maoris are still fond of the adze way of action, even with tools of steel.

So constant was the adze form of tool among Tonga men, that they called an axe, when they found it with the whites, "togi fucca anga géhe;" the Adze, (togi) of unusual or strange setting. The Maori stone adze was made of a kind of jasper, which has been called green jad. The natives of the Navigators Islands and of Otaheite, formerly made adzes of a fine kind of basalt, and the adze was a kind of hard stone in New Caledonia. The natives of the Disappointment Island once worked with adzes with handles made of roots, and blades of shell such as the Tritonia or Cassis. The Maoris of New Zealand can fell a tree with hand-blows of an adze, by cutting off successively lots of fibre, at two places about the width of an adze asunder, and then ripping it out

with its edge; and the natives of Australia would readily climb tall trees by cutting successive notches for their feet on alternate sides of the trunk.

Some native tribes of South America, as they were found by Cortes and Velasquez, had swords of wooden blades, with grooved edges, into which sharp flints were fastened, and they had flint-headed clubs. An ugly weapon of this kind, a wooden blade with shark's teeth fastened into grooves at its edges, may be seen in the Dorset County Museum.

There are no good grounds for believing that the name of the tool *celt* was bestowed from that of the Celtic race, or that the celt was a weapon. The flint arrow-heads or spear-heads of the Britons and other tribes are markworthy for the skill with which, like our old gun-flints, they were beaten out so true of shape. The collection of the Dorset County Museum contains many good specimens of stone and bronze celts, and flint arrow-heads, from the collection of Charles Hall, Esq., and from the Rev. Reginald Smith, and Mr. Thomas Wood, and other friends of the institution; and among Mr. Hall's specimens, is a stone matrix for celts of metal.

EXERCISES, &c., OF THE BRITONS.

The British youth, or at least those of higher rank, were trained in exercises or accomplishments (campau, or games as they were called) both of body and mind. Among the old Cymry there were ten youthful exercises or accomplishments (mabolgamp): hunting, fishing, and fowling, and then poetry, harping, reading, singing with music, singing in four parts, heraldry, and going on an embassy; and, as the singing in four parts implied counterpoint, we find that it must have been known to the Britons in rather early times. There were ten manly exercises or accomplishments (gwrolgamp), six of which were bodily, as trials of strength, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling and riding; and four were deeds of arms, shooting, sword and shield play, two-handled sword play, and two-tipped staff play. A triad says, the Welsh of old had three games—the game of wrestling (which has lingered with the men of Cornwall, who were British even in language down to the time of Queen Elizabeth), throwing of iron balls, and hawling one another over fires; and we should think especially over the Mayfires or bonfires that were kindled on May-day on the *Crugau* or Druids' mounds.

One of the pastimes of the old Cymry gentleman

(Gwrda) was a game something like our chess or backgammon, which may be the Welsh *Bach-cammawn*, "the little fight"; and a triad declares, that the three main worldly wants of a gentleman, are a wife, a chess-board (tawlbwrdd), and a harp. In another triad, it is said, that the three needful things of a gentleman are, his harp, his fur-robe (Brycan), and his tawlbwrdd.

The *tawlbwrdd* was of sundry substances from wood to horn and ivory, though the ivory one is rated at sixty pennies, or three cows, twenty or thirty pounds of our money.

There were three free chases, a fox, an otter, and a swarm of bees; or by another triad, three free chases over another man's land, a goat, a fox, and an otter, as these animals have no abode, and therefore at the forming of that triad, the goat was wild in Wales.

Doe or hind hunting lasted from Christmas till May, and the hunting of the stag was lawful from St. John's till November. In November and December the wild boar was the object of the Welshman's merry toil.

A fire-side pastime of the old Cymry was verse-singing (Caniad penillion), in which there was a rivalry of one singer or side with another, each answering with a fitting stanza that of the rival songster. The verses were mostly drawn from the

stores of memory, though they were sometimes formed, as epigrams, from the wit of the time.

Among the musical instruments of the Cambro-Britons the harp held the chief place; but they had the bagpipe, and the *crwth* (whence our word crowd), a kind of fiddle, and the *pib-gorn*, or hornpipe, the warbler of lively jigs for the games of the village green (twmpathau), whence we get our name for the kind of jig, the hornpipe.

HOUSES, &c., OF THE BRITONS.

Britons, in the old times, had wide breadths of bogs, moors, and water-soaked meadows, and river basins with great stores of the tough withe, and other wet-land wood, and large supplies of timber and poles, and wattle-wood in the hursts and coppices; and they won great skill in the working up of such wood in commodities of their house life. The peeled withies of our land were twined, most likely, by the slender fingers of British maidens into sundry kinds of baskets (basged), some of which were so elegant that they were carried to Rome as vessels of great worth, and ranked (by Juvenal, *Sat.* xii) among the precious goods of the most wealthy Romans; while Martial (lib. 14) writes clearly that

they were brought from the tattooed Britons. And the Latin *Bascauda*, as well as our word *basket*, is a form of the Welsh name Basged, and clearly taken by Romans and Englishmen from the British, since they only have the root, Basg, plaited work.

Basket-making was early a work of the Celtic hand, as it still is in France, whence we get so many pretty specimens of the art. The Britons, then, like the Gauls, were good hands at hurdle or wattle-work, and in many, if not in most places, made the wall-frames of their houses of it; though it is true, where stone was at hand, as it may have been in Cornwall and on Dartmoor, they seem to have built house walls, or at least the bases of them, of stone. The smaller houses, such at least as those of the lower or middling classes, or the halls of them, were a continuation of the tent form, as they were round with a conical roof.

The wattle walls seem to have been either thatched on the outside, or precisely of the kind which are still known in Dorset under the name of "speäk an' deäb, or spike and daub;" and the roof seems to have been of wattle-work, thatched—for, even to this day, the Welsh word for a ceiling of a room, or house, is *Cronglwyd*, which means, by root sense, the *crown wattle*. The fire of the round wattle-house was in the middle of the room, and the smoke went out by a smoke-hole (Myg-dwll).

Houses of this kind were occupied by Britons in the seventh century, since Bede tells us of such an one which became for a night the inn of a Briton, who was benighted as he was travelling homeward with some of the holy dust from the grave of Oswald king of Northumberland. He says, "he therefore took along with him some of that earth, tying it up in a linen cloth, supposing it would some time or other be of use for curing sick people, and proceeding on his journey, came at night to a certain village, and entered a house where the neighbours were feasting at supper. Being received by the owners of the house, he sat down with them at the entertainment, hanging the cloth in which he had brought the earth, on a post against the wall. They sat long at supper, and drank hard, with a great fire in the middle of the room. It happened that the sparks flew up, and caught the top of the house, which being made of wattles and thatch, was presently in a flame; the guests ran out in a fright, without being able to put a stop to the fire."

The wattle halls were sometimes not less, if not more, than twenty feet in diameter, and, from Bede's tale, we may gather that there was on some occasions merry cheer within them; and it appears, from a British history, in Welsh, that houses, much of the old British form, were to be seen in Wales as late as a hundred years ago. And a tourist wrote, fifty

years ago, of the town of Machynleth, in Wales, "Machynleth, with romantic environs, is yet a beggarly town, where the colour and form of the houses increase the melancholy appearance. The rustic architecture disdains the use of chimneys, which are, in general, supplied by the doorway." They had no Myg-dwll. Another use of their wattle working was the forming of frames for the corwgl. or coracle, or little oval one-manned fishing-boat, which was covered with hides or some other waterproof matter. The rule for the weight of a man's corwgl is, that it should be as large as he can carry. Thence the saying:—

"Llwyth gwr ei gorwg;" a man's load is his coracle.

The (marchwiail) rod or withe, holds a place as a kind of poetic burden-word, in a rather old poem, of the early bardic form.

A round wattle-house, as well as a rectangular one, is carved as the abode of a Gaul in the Antonine column at Rome; and Cæsar writes that the houses of the Britons were very like those of the Gauls. The up-land summer-house of the old Cymry seems to have been a slight building, for whereas the hendref, or homestead house, was rated by the laws of Howel Dda, at a pound, or about twelve cows, more than a hundred pounds of our money, the hafdy, or up-land summer-hut, was rated at only four pennies, or one-fifth of a cow, about forty or

fifty shillings; and the wattle-door, which was a work of some care and taste, was rated at half of the worth of the house.

Howel Dda had a hunting-house on the *Taf* in Dyfed. It was called *y-ty-gwyn*, or the white house, as it was built of white rods (gwiail gwynion), which might have been peeled rods. The king's house, like those of some of the nobles, had a hall with six pillars, and other smaller buildings belonging to it; such as *Cytiau* cells or rooms, with the cow-stall (beudy), barn (ysgubawr), sheep-house, and pig-house, and the odyn, the use of which is not so easy to understand, as it was, at times, heated with fire, and the word may mean a drying-kiln, or granary for corn, or an oven.

Remains, or ground marks, of British houses are yet found in sundry places of England, though most of such relics of the British grazier's life have now yielded to the plough of the English corn-farmer. At Croydon Hill, above Withycombe, are house-circles, I believe in stone, as there are on Dartmoor, and at Llanberis, in Wales; and, most likely, some of the ground-scars that linger, or have lingered till lately, on the Downs of Dorset, Wilts, and Hants, are marks of British abodes. The house-circles on Croydon Hill are about twenty-one feet in diameter, side by side on the circumference of a circle of four or five hundred feet. At Carngoch, in Wales, are

ruins of a British town, with ramparts, gateways, cairns, and a great many *cytiau*, or huts. Whether any of the cistvaens, such as that called "Ty Illtyd," or others in the Isle of Anglesea, were houses or cells of the Druids, it may now be hard to tell, though an ancient Welsh saying, "The man is not out of his way who strays to the house of a Druid;" "i ty Derwydd," calls the Druid's abode by the same name as that of the house of the common folk.

The rock caves of Nottingham may, or may not, have been abodes of the Druids, but one of the British writers, Asser, tells us that the British name of Nottingham was "Ty Gogofawg," cave-house, or cave-houses, so that the Nottingham caves were British abodes of some kind. As the Britons were cattle owners, they had a store of tallow, and as the rush sprang freely from their soil, we may believe that the rush-light glittered in their wattle-houses in the earliest times; though wax lights were burnt, at least in the hall of Howel Dda and other kings. Rushes, fresh strewn, were the Briton's carpet, and straw or grass was sometimes the mattress of his bed; and the pretty plant called the ladies' bedstraw (bedstrew) might formerly have filled the office which is betokened by its name.

BURIAL OF THE BRITONS.

To the antiquary who feels it to be interesting, and has ground for believing that it is of service to man, to compare the sundry states of civilisation, and law, and faith, through which tribes of men have come, in sundry times and places, the barrows or tumuli, in which lies the dust of the Britons, each in his silent bed beneath the grassy mound on the airy down, are of great interest. Of a few of the Britons buried under the barrow, it may still be said in the words of the bard—

"Eu beddau a'u cudd gwyddwal:"

"Their graves are hidden by the thicket;"

and of still fewer

——————"Yn garnedd,
Mewn gwerni mae'n gorwedd:"

"They are lying in the barrow in the moor:"

since few of the barrows are now left elsewhere than on the wild down, and the sull is now fast wearing them down. The barrows and their relics are so well known, from British collections in museums, or transactions of antiquarian societies, that it may seem almost bootless to hold forth to our generation of readers, the light of any knowledge one may have gathered on the subject; but as I cannot, in Dorsetshire, well omit British burial from my papers on

British subjects, I may say that the early Britons mostly buried their dead under conical mounds, which they called carn or carnedd. In places where loose stones were at hand, the carnedd might be formed of stone, and on the chalk downs of the soil.

From what has been discovered by antiquaries or others on the opening of the barrows, it seems that some barrows were the carneddau of one man, or of a household, while others were the mounds of many burials; under some have been found cists or coffin-pits, cut in the rock or soil, or rude grave-linings, *cistveini*, of a flat bottom stone, and side and end flags set on edge. Some have yielded urns of baked clay, mostly formed by hand rather than the wheel, and ornamented with an edging of zigzag lines cut in the clay with a sharp tool; and in some barrows and urns are found relics of ashes and burnt bones, as if the bodies had been burnt, and their remains gathered into the urns. In some, the urns are inverted over the relics of cremation, and in others, they stand upright, with a stone lid. Some barrows contained both urns and relics of unburnt bodies, and others had loose-laid skeletons without urns. In some barrows were weapons and tools of flint, or bone, such as celts, spearheads, and arrowheads, and in some are hand-gear of bronze, and in others tools of flint in lower interments, with some of bronze above them. We may fairly hold that the inter-

ments with only flint gear are of earlier time than those with gear of metal or glass, and that those with gear both of flint and bronze or iron, were the work of a people who had rather lately come into communication with another that were more advanced in handicrafts, whether Phœnicians or Romans.

There are grounds for believing also that interments of unburnt skeletons in cists in the soil, and in *cistveini*, or stone grave-linings, are earlier than those with urns and tokens of cremation, and that the loose-lying ones are of the latest time. The bone pin, with an open circular head (of which specimens may be seen in the Dorset County Museum), has been found in sundry interments, from those with flint weapons to others with glass gear.

The Dorset County Museum contains also many specimens of barrow urns:—Two found on Puddletown Heath, from C. Porcher, Esq., of Clyffe House; two from Mrs. Michel, of Whatcombe House; a small one from a barrow at Milbourne St. Andrew; and a very large one from a barrow at Clenstone; and two others from C. Henning, Esq. The collection of C. Hall, Esq., of Osmington Lodge, near Weymouth, contains also many specimens of urns and other British remains. Some barrows, even in Derbyshire and Staffordshire, have yielded orna-

ments of Kimmeridge shale, such as we know were turned in a lathe in the Isle of Purbeck, where the spade has turned out large quantities of waste pieces from the chuck of the lathe. They have been called Kimmeridge coal-money, from a belief that they were circulated as money among the Britons by the Phœnicians.

In the Dorset County Museum may be seen some fine specimens of rings, amulets, and beads of Kimmeridge shale, which were found by Mr. Moule in diggings on Fordington Hill, where, it seems, was a Roman or Romano-British burial ground; and another case in the coin-room contains a tray of the chuck pieces, and one specimen from Mr. Groves, of Wareham, of infinite worth in the question of the use of the so-called Kimmeridge coal money, as it is a piece of shale out of which the turner had begun to form a ring, but a piece of the stuff had flown off before his chisel, and he had thrown it away.

It is believed that carn burial began to be discontinued soon after the incoming of Christianity; and it seems from the ancient Welsh poem, "Memorials of the Tombs of the Warriors," that no later, if not much earlier, than the time of Taliessin, the sixth century, heroes were buried in graves, with four square pillars or stones at the corners. A cluster of thirty of such graves, called the graves of the men of Ardudwy, might formerly be seen, if they are

not yet remaining, on the mountain Micneint, in Merioneth. After the churchyard had become the resting place of the mortal remains of Christian Britons, the carn was the grave only of the criminal or heathen; and whereas the carn had been an honour among the heathen Britons, it became at last a disgrace, and a Cymro would say, in his anger against another, "Ah! carn ar dy wyneb," "Ah! a barrow on thy face," or mayst thou lack Christian burial. It is said that when the barrow or the memory of a hero buried below it was holden in honour among the heathen Britons, every bywender threw a stone or handful of soil to it.

WHAT WAS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE SAXONS AND BRITONS.

1st. *With regard to Laws.*—At the time of the settlement of the Saxons in England, and for a long time afterwards, the Britons seem to have been in a social state between that of the patriarchal, in which the father of a household is their king, and that of our monarchies, in which nearly all law-might is taken out of the hands of the house-father and given to the state-laws.

In the true patriarchal state, every household, or blood-clan, is a little kingdom, under its own head—father or tribesman;—and he holds them to right (as the Saxons called it) among themselves, and upholds their rights against other clans, and answers other clans seeking right against them; but as a law of nations is found a good for the sake of peace among great states, so, in a land of free tribes or clans, it is found a good for them to come to some understanding as to the righting of wrongs, and the quenching of feuds. As large states might be formed out of clans, so some of the law-might of the tribe-head would be yielded to the state; though he might retain the office of holding his people to right, or of upholding their rights, under common state-law, which over-rides all the tribes of the state; and to quench blood feuds, all tribes and men would be brought to an understanding as to the measure of compensation which should be deemed fair amends for every kind of wrong. For the opinion of the older nations seems to have been that the true aim of law was, not that wrongs should be followed by only the fruitless punishment of the wrongdoer, while the wrong itself should be borne undiminished, and even aggravated by the expenses of prosecution, but that wrongs should be righted; and therefore, with the Britons, in the time of Howel Dda, and earlier, as, among the Saxons, almost

everything of which a man might be wronged by another, from a man's life down to his comb, was rated by the law at a worth which the Saxons called its geäld, and the Welsh gwerth, our word worth, and which on the wrongful loss of it, the owner or his kindred, or among the Saxons, his burh or fellow-tithings'-men, received from the side of the wrong-doer.

Now, with the *Cymry*, every family or clan was represented in law-rights by a foreman, called the *pencenedl*, or tribe head, whose office, under the law, was to hold his clan,—kindred or namesakes by blood,—to right for their wrongs against others, and to seek compensation of others for wrongs against them. He was to stand by his kinsman in every need. The *pencenedlaeth* was not to be taken by kindred on the mother's side against that of the father, nor yet, for some reason, was it to be taken from a father by his own son.

A pencenedl received a fee from a bridegroom on his marriage with a woman of his tribe, and a fee on the admission of a youth into the freedom of the tribe. By the laws of Howel Dda, it was most needful that every man should have a pencenedl, and the lives of the pencenedl and his children were protected by a heavy blood-fine, *galánas*, and he had a share of the galánas for the life of a man of his tribe.

But among the Saxons, a man's bystanders in law, or his sponsors, were not the men of his family or name, and none other, but they were the free men of the tithing in which he was enrolled; and in cases of his rights or wrong-doings, he was not necessarily represented to the law by his kinsman, the head of his house, but by a law-made officer, the headborough or head of his tithing.

Now, with the Saxons, as with the Welsh, almost everything of which a man could be wronged was rated by law, and every free man was bound up by law-ties to a body of other free men, who were to stand by him in his wrongs, and hold him to right, or make compensation for his wrong-doing; and the laws of Edgar and Athelstan enact, that every man or free man, should have borough, or be under it, or should be enrolled in some tithing or hundred; and this answers to the Welsh law, that every man should have a pencenedl. Tacitus says, that the Germans had in war a body of light footmen, of whom a hundred were taken out of every pagus,—district, or township,—and he says (cap. 11) that the Germans met in Council, unless anything may have happened by sudden chance, on set days, at new or full moon, as if he were speaking of the hundreds courts, *hundredes gemot* of the Saxons, which were holden every month; and (cap. 12) that for lighter crimes a geäld of horses or herds was paid, and that

a share went to the king or state, and a share to the wronged man or his kindred; and that at such councils were chosen heads, who were to execute the law in the *pagi* and *vici*, whether they were divisions like our hundreds and tithings or others. Tacitus tells us further, that among the Germans, as with the Saxons, a man must take up the feud of his father or kinsman, and that even manslaughter was fined with a geäld of cattle, and that all the house or family of the slain received compensation for their kinsman's blood. It seems, therefore, that the law-rating of wrongs, and boroughship, held among both the Britons and most other Celtic tribes (for the clanship of the Scots was most likely, at first, a kind of freeborough), and among the Saxons and other Teutonic tribes; and that while it seems clear the Britons did not take it from the Saxons, so neither are we forbidden to believe that the Saxons brought it from Germany.

But then it is puzzling to know how frank-pledge stood out so long in England (for till within a few years the hundred paid a geäld for a robbery within its boundary), and yet that the institution, with all its traces, has so long vanished from the fatherland of the Saxon settlers, and their kindred tribes the Frieses and other German states: so although the law-provision for the compensation of wrongs was of the same form with Britons and Saxons, yet that of

the Britons could not have been borrowed from the Saxons, since it was a natural one; while that of the Saxons was one of arbitrary formation, and we do not understand that the natural is the imitation of the artificial.

On the other hand, it would seem as if the Saxons had come to Britain, as our people now go to New Zealand or Australia, of manifold families, upon their own wants or feelings, and had settled side by side with no other connection than that of Saxonhood or language; and that finding the British boroughship the law of the land, or of the Britons, their neighbours, and knowing that they could not have the boroughship of blood, had formed a kind of tribes, the ten freemen of the tithing, and had made a boroughship of neighbourhood, instead of one of blood.

It has been commonly understood that the Saxons formed the boroughship of tithings and hundreds in England, but we do not find in the code of any Saxon king, as it has come down to us, any law by which it was enacted. The laws of Edward the Confessor only call it a safeguard for all states, and say the Yorkshiremen called it *ten men tale* (tien manna tala), as if it was already a confirmed institution among them. Bede tells us, what we gather also from Tacitus, that the Saxons had no king at home; but when they formed settlements in Britain,

each settlement yielded to a head, called a king, as the sundry states of the Britons were wielded by a kingling; and, as the Britons owned the sway of an emperor, (*penteyrnedd*, head ruler, *unben coronog*, crowned monarch), so the Saxons yielded to the rule of a Bretwalda.

The British and Saxon laws were of like form as to crime-clearings, or compurgations, by the oath of the man taken for crime, and the oath of his kinsmen, or fellow-tithings-men, which seems to have ripened into the oaths of our jury; and our maxim, that a man should be tried by his peers, may have meant at first, that he was to be tried by his fellow freemen, with whom he was bound in law. By the Welsh laws, much like the laws of compurgation among the Saxons, a man under charge of crime, might, in some cases, clear himself by the oath of twelve, or other tale of men; and the purgatores (jury) swore that they believed true the oath of the man clearing himself. With the Cymry and Saxons in some cases, a fine was paid to the king, for the breach of his peace, as well as to the wronged man's representatives. The Welsh called it *camlwrw*, and the Saxons a *wite*. As cattle farming was the main business, and as kine were the main wealth, of Britons and Saxons, so, both with the Britons and Saxons, laws were strong against cattle-stealing, and enacted that live stock were to be sold before wit-

nesses, or a kind of mart-jury. It is pretty clear, therefore, that the difference between the social states of the Saxons and Britons, with respect to constitutional law, was very small; and it may appear, after all, that we owe to the Britons more than we have usually awarded to them of the blessings of our constitution.

SOCIAL STATE OF THE BRITONS AND SAXONS.

2nd. *With regard to Land and Living.*—The British landowners or farmers, as early as the tenth century, and, as we may believe on the best grounds, in the Roman times, had set quantities of land, off-marked by boundary stones, and called *maenawr* (stone boundary), from *maen*, a stone, whence comes our word *manor;* and in hilly districts, at least, they had what was called the lowland manor (maenawr wrthdir), and the upland manor (maenawr vro). The lowland farm was the place of their homestead (hendrev, old or original abode); but in the summer the herdsman drove his cattle to the upland farm for three or four months, and built himself a wattle hut called the *hafdy*, or summer house.

The summer feeding of the Briton's cattle in the uplands was much like that of our time in Switzer-

land, where the stock, under the care of the herdsman in his chalet, is kept on the mountains from May till October, though in Switzerland the upland feed is sometimes rented by the farmers, and the herdsman often comes down to his homestead for the Sunday with a present of rich cream for his wife. I believe, also, that the herdsman in the Highlands of Scotland often betakes himself with his cattle, in the summer, to the hill pastures, and builds himself a hut answering to the Welshman's hafdy.

We are not to understand that the earth-works or strongholds, such as Maiden Castle in Dorset, and others, were British towns of permanent abode to gatherings of commercial men, like our towns, or even the constant homes of farmers, since the British farmers lived at their farms; and in Kent, as Cæsar tells us, the buildings were very thick. The earth-works, or strongholds *(caerau)*, were like the Pahs of the Maoris, safeguards in war times for women, children, and cattle; and so Cassivelaunus retired to his *caer* before the Romans, and when they came to it they found it filled with lately-collected cattle and people.

As the British farmer had his homestead *(hendrev)* with his measured corn-land and meadow, and also his upland farm for the summer feed of his cattle, so the Saxon farmer had his homestead *(tún)* with his

measured meadow and corn-land; and a *gau* of landowners had round them a belt of upland or woodlands *(mearc)* for the summer pasturage of their cattle and swine, and for a store of timber and wood for building, implements, and fuel, as the homesteads of many of our parishes were formerly belted by common land of wood, or gorse, or grass.

With an understanding of the Saxon *gau*, and its mearc, or boundary of untilled land, we may win a better insight into what Cæsar writes of the Germans. He says that, "It is the greatest glory to gaus (civitatibus) to have round them wilds of depopulated boundaries as great as may be, that their expelled neighbours should leave their lands, and that no one should dare to settle near them. In this way they think they are safer, inasmuch as they are freer from sudden inroads." By which, very likely, although it makes them look like grim Polyphemuses, we are to understand little more than that the men of a gau would like to have a good belt of common land, as the little landholders of our parishes were formerly so unwilling to lose their common lands, in moor or on down, as a summer feed of their stock.

By the laws of Ina, if a foreigner or stranger should wander in the woods, and should not call or wind a horn, and should be slain as a thief, the manslayer should not be called on for his geäld; and a

like rule seems, by a poem imputed to Taliesin, to have holden among the Cymry.

"Ban corn cerddetrwyd,
Ban biw wrth echwydd."

"Loud is the horn of travelling,
Loud are kine in the evening."

It is not easy to understand what Cæsar says of the strongholds of the Britons. He tells us "The Britons call a town (oppidum) a place where they fence in pathless woods (silvas impeditas) with a bank and ditch, and where they are wont to gather themselves on the inroads of foes." But what can we understand by inclosing a wood with a bank and ditch? If a body of men were in the middle of a wood, which had a rim of unmanned bank and ditch round it, I do not see what should hinder even a hundred children from climbing over it: and most of the earthworks which we take for British, are on hills and downs, which we do not understand to have been much wooded even in British times. The stronghold of Cassivelaunus was shielded with woods and marshes, and not with a wood fenced in with a bank and ditch, nor with a bank and ditch on a bare hill; and Strabo tells us, "The woods of the Britons are their cities, for when they have inclosed a large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle;" so that these wood fastnesses seem to have been the *trefydd*

in the lowlands, and not the *caerau* of our hills, which might have been antiquities even in those days. The states of the Britons and Saxons as to landholding and living were much of a kind. Though the Saxons trusted for safety rather to their weapons, and their prowess as they may be gathered side by side on the open ground, than to earthworks.

ROADS OF THE BRITONS.

The Britons are known to have had lines of great roads through the sundry tribes of Britain, and from the main places inland to the ports of outlet to other countries, and even from the salt mines of *Droitwich* to the grazing soils of the west and south, where the land-owners would need much of it for the salting down of meat for the winter board. They had also war-chariots, the very wheels of which either were built for the roads of the land, or would have called for the mending, or clearing, or smoothing of it; for wheels and roads or roadways are as much a-twin of commodities as are the flange and rail of our railways. The war-chariot of the Britons was mostly called by themselves *rhodawg*, from *rhod*, a wheel, and was a kind of vehicle which the Romans often called *rheda:* but we find Celtic chariots called also by Roman writers *esseda* and *covinus*, which seem

to be Latin forms of Celtic words, though it may not now be easy to say what they were, unless *ysgwyd*, which like *rhod*, means a shield, might, like rhod, be also bestowed on a kind of chariot, *esseda;* and unless the *covinus* might be *y gwain* now a *waggon.*

There are grounds for believing that in the farming counties of the West of England, such as Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, we have not many more roads or roadways for the wheel or foot of the traveller from village to village, than those which were outmarked by the Britons. We may get some clue to the British roads in some of the western counties from places with names ending in *ford*, of which we have many in Dorset. On the Bourne, running into Lytchet Bay—Sherford, Organford. On the stream flowing into Poole Harbour—Sandford. On the Piddle—Milford. In the Basin of Yeo—Longford, Thornford, Redford, Bradford Abbas, Heniford, Harford. The Basin of Stour—Poford, Fittleford, Ockford, Hanford, Enford, Blandford, Crawford (Spettisbury), Barford (Sturminster), Canford, Lydford, Twyford, Okford Child, Widsford (Wimborne). By the Frome—Winford, Metford, Muckleford, Bradford, Wrackleford, Stafford, Woodsford, Stinsford.

What, then, is the meaning of the word *Ford*, or, rather, what was its first meaning. The answer may be that it means, and always has meant, a

passage over a stream, but *Ford*, in British, means a *road* or *passage*, whether over a stream or dry land; and, if the English word *Ford* is not the British word *Ford*, taken in a narrower sense, we should believe our forefathers had it before they came to England; or, conversely, if it was unknown in their language, or their land, before they settled among the Britons, we should believe it to be the British word *Ford* or *Fordd*. That the word *Ford* is found in the writings of the English or Saxons, is not evidence that it is a word of English or Saxon growth, any more than the finding of such words as *caravanserai* or *punka* in English dictionaries, can make them words of Teutonic formation.

Now, if we look into the map of the lands from which our forefathers came, Slesvig and Holstein, we shall not find the names of any places ending in *ford*, though there must be many in situations such as those that called for the name *ford* in England; and this seems to show that the Saxons had not the word at home, and took it up in Britain.

Again, if the word *ford* was a word of the Angles and Saxons in Denmark, we may believe that the language of their brethren and neighbours, the Frieses, of East if not West Friesland, contained it. The Friesic dialect differs much from book German, and retains most of its old English form and words; but I cannot find the word *ford* in a Friesic diction-

ary printed at Copenhagen in 1837, nor is the word used with our English meaning by other Teutonic nations, high or low Dutch, Swedes, Danes, or Icelanders, for the Scandinavian word *fiord* does not mean a way or passage at all. I believe, therefore, that the word *ford*, is the British word *fordd*, taken in a narrow meaning, and that a British road or trackway cut our streams at all places called fords.

WHAT WAS THE CARDINAL OR HEAD SKYPOINT WITH THE BRITONS?—THE EAST.

If one were to ask a Welshman in Wales, which way one should turn for some place, he might say—"Ar y llaw ddeau," to the right hand: now the word *deau* or *de*, which means the *right* as applied to the hand, means south as applied to the sky; and *Deheubarth*, the south part, is a Welsh name for South Wales; but a man's right hand is not his south hand, unless he is looking to the east, and so it is clear that the east was the cardinal point to the Britons. The right hand is "y llaw aswy," the shield hand, or the hand that had the *aes*, the *ægis* of the Greeks. We can well understand, although we take the north as the cardinal point, that the Britons revered the east as the place of the day-spring and rising of the sun. The Britons associated

the sun with truth, in their maxim of justice and open judgment. Their great maxim, which seems to have forbidden close courts, was "Truth before the world, and in the face of the sun" (Y gwir yn erbyn y byd, yn ngwyneb yr haul); and it is markworthy, that this association of truth and light, by the Druids, is not unlike that of the *urim* and *thummim* in the Bible; since *urim* means light, and *thummim* is translated truth in the Septuagint. We may look for an easterly setting in Druidic circles, and some other works of the Britons.

EARLY INTERCOURSE OF THE BRITONS AND SAXONS.

The many British names of English rivers and places show that the Saxons did not slay or outdrive the Britons from the land, but that for years, at least, if not for ages, many of the Britons were dwelling near their birthplaces among the Saxons; and that men of one of the races must have so far learnt the other's language, that Britons and Saxons could understand one another in talk.

For, if the Saxons had slain or expelled every Briton of Wessex, how could they have learnt what the Britons called the streams, and dells, and hills? We cannot believe that the Saxons stilled every British tongue in Dorset, and then learnt the names

of streams and places in British Dorset from the men of Wales, or Cornwall, or Somerset, since no Welsh, or Cornish, or Somerset man would know the names of little dells like *Liscombe* (Lluscwm), *Corscombe* (Corscwm), or the little brooks of Dorset, though he might know the British names of London, or York, or Winchester. We learn from British and Saxon writings also, that men of each of the two races were sometimes dwelling among those of the other. Bede tells a tale of the miraculous healing power of the earth from the grave of *Oswald*, King of Northumberland, who was killed in a battle with the King of Mercia, and buried at Maserfield, somewhere in the north-west of England; and he writes that some of it was taken on by a Briton, who, as is clear from the kind of house in which he afterwards stayed on the road, was going into Wales, or among the Britons, and was therefore travelling from among the Saxons. In the life of Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland, who lived about the middle of the eighth century, we are told that, "It happened in the days of Cenred, King of the Mercians, that the British nation, the foes of the English race, wearied the English with many struggles, and sundry battles." The good Saxon, who wrote the life of the Saint, takes, it must be owned, an English view of the foeship of the Britons to his race. The English were wresting the soil from its British

owners, as fast as their might could take it; and though the struggles and battles with which the Britons wearied them, might have been inconveniences, I do not see that they were very great wrongs.

Guthlac himself was once on a time wearied with evil spirits in sleep; and "He woke from sleep, and went out, and looked, and hearkened; and he heard a great crowd of the accursed spirits speaking *British;* and he knew and understood their talk, for that erewhile he had been in exile among them." "For tham he aer whilom, mid him, waes on wraece." How Guthlac became "on wraece," or in exile among the Britons, we are not told, but he affords an instance of a Saxon who had lived among the Britons, and learnt their language.

Elidir, a Welsh bard of the twelfth century, is called Elidir *Sais*, or Elidir the Saxon, I believe from the length of time he had spent in England. We may believe that the Saxons lived by the Britons with as friendly feelings as a strong competition for the same land would allow two races to feel; but at times they were stirred to take up the sword upon quarrels and encroachments and reprisals.

"We went to Taffy's house
And Taffy wasn't at home;
Taffy came to our house
And stole a marrow-bone."

And *many a marrow-bone*, in the cattle which Britons on their side, as well as the English on the other, took as plunder over their border.

In the Life of St. Gregory, who sent to the English the missionary Augustine, we are told that "it happened on a time," as it often did, "that the English brought their wares to Rome, and Gregory went by the street to see the Englishmen's goods, and saw among them some slave boys, who were men of white bodies and fair countenances." Gregory saw the beauty of the youths, and asked of what people they were brought, and one told him that they were from England. He asked whether the people of their land were christians or heathen, and when he had learnt they were heathen, he asked the name of the *tribe* from which they had come, and was told they were Angles, and, on asking the name of their *(scyre)* shire or province, he found that they were *Deiri*. The *Deiri* were men of what was at one time a Saxon settlement and little kingdom, taking in mainly the County of Durham, with some of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. It was called by the British, *Dewyr*, whence the Saxon form Deira or Deora, and *Deorham* or Durham. It was afterwards united with the settlement of Bernicia, the British *Brynaich*, that is, mountain-land, which reached from the Tyne to the Frith of Edinburgh. One cannot tell from the name

Dewyr, whether the slave youths were Britons or Saxons, but history tells us they were *Angles*, and not *British*, which is allowed by the fact, that it appears from a curious poem, "The Ododin," on the battle of Cattraeth between the Britons and English, that *Brynaich* with *Dewyr* was in the hands of the Angles many years before the time of Gregory. Then, were the slave youths at Rome prisoners who had been taken by men of the English settlement of Deira, from those of another in some war among the little kingdoms, or who had been taken from the Angles by the Britons? It is true there was fighting about the time of Gregory's mission, since *Ceolwulf*, who came to the throne the year after Augustine's arrival, was constantly fighting with the *Angles*, the Welsh, the Picts, or the Scots; but by the laws of King Ina, of Wessex, in the seventh century, the Saxons were forbidden to sell their Saxon brethren for slaves. They say, "if a man shall buy his fellow countryman (his agenne leodan) bond or free, though he be guilty of crime, and send him over sea, he shall pay his wear, and, moreover, a heavy fine to God (with God deoplice bete);" and if it were needful that the Saxon house should not be divided against itself in the seventh century, so it was in the time of Gregory; so, that notwithstanding the slave boys at Rome are called Englishman's wares, it would seem more likely that they

were *Angles* that had been taken prisoners by Britons than by Angles, and the slave-sellers might be called Englishmen as men of England or Britain.

It seems clear from the laws of King *Ina*, that Britons were living in his time among the English, as churls and landowners, as well as serfs, since he gives laws for their several cases. One law is, if an Englishman were charged with theft, he was to clear himself at a geäld of sixty hides, if he were worthy to swear; if he were a *Welshman* he should not be compelled to more. A Welsh theowe or serf was to clear himself with twelve hides. If a Welsh theowe killed an Englishman, then his owner was to hand him over to the lord, or kindred, or redeem him with sixty shillings. Welshmen were tax-payers; among the Saxons a Welshman paying *scot* is rated at 120 shillings; his son, a hundred. The British were landowners in Wessex. A Welshman, if he had five hides (of land), is rated at six hundred shillings. If a Welshman have a hide of land, his wear is 120 shillings; if he have half-a-hide, eighty shillings; if he have none, sixty shillings.

FACE OF BRITAIN IN THE BRITISH TIMES.

We must perceive, upon slight thought, that in the old British times a greater breadth of water than now evaporates in English sunshine was, in the winter, at least, lying on the land, in the manifold meres, moors, and river basins, of which many are now drained.

So the high ground at Glastonbury is always called, in British, an island, "Ynys Avallach," isle of apple trees, or "Ynys Avallon," island of apples; and in the eighth century St. Guthlac needed a boat to reach Crowland; where he founded a cell or monastery. It is now a market town in Lincolnshire, though it was then an island in the waters of the fens.

On the coming of the Saxons to England, the so-called Isle of Thanet was sundered from the mainland of Kent by an estuary, and as has been said by an old writer, three stadia broad, and navigable for ships of the time, though it is now a brook spanned by a bridge of one arch.

From the breadths of dead waters, which once lay on low lands, we have many places which the Saxons called *Eas* or *Mers*, now *Ey*, as Athelney (Athelingea), Olney, Pevensey, Horningsea, Nailsea,

Whittlesea Mere, and Meare in Somerset; and others again, which the Britons called *cors* or bog, as Corscombe *(Corscwm)*, Corsley, Corston. Notwithstanding the wateryness of Glastonbury, it was classed with the isle of Anglesea for healthiness.

"Ynys Fon sy flw iach,
Felly ynys Afallach."

"The Isle of Anglesea is very healthy,
And so is Glastonbury."

Glastonbury waters were for some time thought to be of mighty healing power; and, as appears from the Gentleman's Magazine of April, 1838, several persons believed themselves to have been healed by them. As the face of the land was more watery to the eyes of the Britons, so it was more woody than it is to us. Hence we hear of the great forest of Selwood, called by the Britons *Coed Mawr* (Greatwood), and the far-reaching woods or wealds of Kent, the British *Coed Andraed*, the pathless or untrodden wood; a name of which the Romans made *Sylva Andreda*. And thence again such places as Farrendon or Fearndun (Ferndown), and Reading *(Rhedyn?)* Fern.

Herodian says of Britain, "Out of the bogs (in Britain) arise continually thick vapours, by which the face of the sky seems always overcast;" and it is markworthy that the old Welsh name for the early share of the forenoon is anterth, from *an* off,

and *tarth* vapour. It therefore means the vapour-offing, and a Gorsedd or bard session was not to be holden at night, nor before *anterth*.

We will suppose it latter summer. The cattle are on the hills, or in the glades of the wealds. Here and there are wide beds of fern, or breadths of gorse, or patches of wild raspberry; with gleaming sheets of wild flowers unchecked by our more accurate farming; the swine are roaming in the wild woods and shady oak glades, where nuts are everywhere studding their brown-leaved bushes, and sloes and bilberries are blackening the thicket on all hands; and on the sunny side of some cluster of trees is the herdsman's round wicker house (hafdy), with its brown conical roof, and blue wreaths of smoke; and out in the glade might be the herdsman singing "*Un benaeth Prydain*," or the praises of some yellow-haired *Bronwen*. Down at the hendref (homestead) the meadows might be mown and the corn gathered. In the meadow glades of the moorlands, and basins of the sluggish streams, stand clusters of old tall elms, waving with the nests of herons; and the bittern, snipe, coot, and waterrail, are busy among the rushes and flags of the reedy meres, which have in our time become clean meadows. Birds of sundry kinds are churming in the wood-girt clearings, and wolves and foxes are seen from time to time slinking to their cover, and

knots of British maidens might be laughing at the water-spring, or the water-side, or beating the white linen or *gulanen* (flannel) with the *golchbren*, while the children are playing with many a British cry of joy before the doors of the round straw-thatched houses of the Tref, the peaceful abode of the sons of the oaky vale. On the ridges of the downs in those times rose the sharp cones of the barrows which are now flattened into low curves, or have been levelled for the plough. Some of them then glistened in white chalk, or were red with the mould of the new burial, and were the graves of men beloved of yet living hearts, while others were green with the grass of long years, though still hallowed by dim traditions of earlier generations.

The Welsh word to *waylay* a man is very expressive of the act, and especially in the bushy state of ancient Britain. It is *cynllwyn*, to *be-bush* him, from llwyn, a bush.

KINGSHIP, AND ESPECIAL LAWS OF THE CYMRY AND BRITONS.

The government of the Britons, if we may trust to the laws of Howel Dda and earlier kings, was a limited monarchy, of a form affording the people the greatest freedom.

In the law triads it is enacted that "no one has the right of making or repealing a law but the king, nor the king without the consent of the men of the land:" and in another it is said—"There are three primary sittings of the island of Britain: 1st, the sitting of the bards; 2nd, the sitting of the people and prince; 3rd, the sitting of the convention of federation." The sitting of the prince and people was equivalent to our Parliament.

The king of the old Welsh was not to go out of his land to war more than once a year, nor remain out from his kingdom more than six months at a time.

Britain was under several princes, who at times owed homage to a head monarch or emperor, *Penteyrnedd*, chief of princes, emperor, or *unben coronog*, one crowned head. So Cæsar says that Cassivelaunus had theretofore been at war with the other states of Britain, but on the invasion of the Romans, the Britons set him over the whole confederacy of princes, or made him Penteyrnedd. The prince of a small state was sometimes called *Penhynaiv* and so Caradawg Vreichvras, Caradoc Brawnyarm, the Caractacus of our history, is said to have been penhynaiv *in Cornwall*, while Arthur, who was at one time penhynaiv in Penrhyn, became penteyrnedd or emperor.

The unbenaeth, or monarchy of Britain, may have

answered to the Bretwaldship of the Saxons, and seems to be taken up by a poem ascribed to Taliesin, which sings of fighting:—

"Rhag Prydain wledig."
"Before the ruler or emperor of Britain."

Land was holden of the king as it was under the feudal law, and a heriot (Ebediw) was paid on behalf of a dead vassal by his friends. Still the king, notwithstang the free form of government, claimed, by law, a behaviour of great reverence, so that there was at the palace an officer called *Troediawg*, or footman, who waited on him by such services as those of our footmen, but, moreover, on some occasions held his feet in his bosom, while he sat at meat, and hence may have arisen our word footman; and the palace judge deemed it an honour to sleep at night on the cushion whereon the king had sitten in the day.

The Welsh laws are markworthy for their fullness, and an exactness, at which, in some cases, we may be likely to smile; and if fullness and exactness of laws be a token of civilization, the Britons of the ninth or tenth century were more civilized than the Saxons. The laws of Howel Dda are declared to be those of that king and others (Howel Dha ac eraill) as they are given with the Law Triads, and take up the laws of Dyvnwall Moelmud or Molmutius, who is said to have been king of Britain before the Christian era.

No man was to be admitted a judge of Welsh law till he had learnt the code, and undergone an examination in it.

The law allowed three ways of setting a lance: I. When the end was set in the ground so hard that it needed both hands to draw it out. II. When the blade was set in a mound up to the hole. III. When it was placed in a bush as high as a man. If a man fell on a lance otherwise placed, and was killed or wounded, a geäld was paid by the owner of the lance for his carelessness.

The law for that crime of naughty though slender fingers, the pulling out of another's hair, was a fine for the breach of the peace, and a penny for each hair outpulled, besides a penny for every finger that had a share in the naughty deed, and twopence for any help which the thumb may afford its lawless coadjutors. A woman was rated at half the worth of her brother, and a third of that of her husband.

The Britons were far from the practice of committing helpless horses to the flies with docked tails. If a horse's tail were cut off, its law worth with them was *nothing*.

If one killed or stole the king's granary cat, that cat or another was to he holden up by the tail, with his nose on the floor, and the culprit was to shoot wheat of his own over it, till the heap reached up to the tip of the cat's tail.

The Welsh laws had reached the point to which we have lately brought our own, as they did not leave a brutal husband's hands free to beat his wife.

For slaying a man by ambush, the law set a two-fold geäld, and a heavy fine to the king.

One of the law triads seems to have been one of very early formation, as it betokens a wild state of Britain, where men might squat on unowned land. It says:—"The three tokens of occupation or fore-occupation, are children, a dog, and tame fowls."

PRIVILEGE, PROTECTION, ASYLUM, SANCTUARY.

Among most nations there are places, or presences, or offices, or times, in which, in some cases, the law cannot act. We ourselves have some of these lawful hindrances of law, and had formerly more of them; and, although those that we have abolished, and some that other nations have once holden, or still retain, may be now useless to us, it does not follow but that they may be good in other states of community. Some of our law-stayings are such as are called privileges of place or office, as that of a man's house of which the outer door is not to be broken to arrest a man; or that of a church, as no clergyman may be taken in divine service in the church;

or of the Sabbath or Sunday, on which no man may be taken, otherwise than for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Then, again, for good reasons, no Peer or Commoner is to be taken in the sitting of Parliament, and no suitors or witnesses are to be arrested in court, or on their road to it; and no man shall be stayed from the king's service or errand—since it would be most foolish to set the law against itself, so that it should hinder its own makers or the fulfillers of its own work.

Another kind of protection is sanctuary, or that of a place—as a church, or temple, or an altar, or a shrine, or, among some tribes, ground under taboo, or consecration. The Saxons called this sanctuary *socna* or *mund*, and one of their laws was that if any man were guilty of death, and he ran to a church, he should have his life, but make amends for his wrong as might be determined; and if a man who was guilty only to a whipping, should run to a church, his whipping should be forgiven him.

At a later time, in England, if a man—for any crime but treason—fled to a church or churchyard, he had mund for forty days; then he might go in sackcloth, and own his guilt to a coroner, and swear to leave the kingdom at any port which might be set him, and not come back without leave of the king, and so he went with a cross in his hand safe to the haven, but forfeited his goods.

The Theseum, or temple of Theseus, at Athens, and under Antonius Pius, any temple or statue of an emperor, was an asylum for ill-treated slaves, whom, if they fled thither on good grounds, their owners were compelled by law to sell to another, and, as the law willed, a better master.

We have abolished sanctuary (21, Jac. 1), and we may be ready to take it as it may have holden among any other nations, as an evil, a hindrance of justice, and an unhappy institution of an age of superstition; but that sanctuary is good in some states of man is clear from the divine institution of it, with the cities of refuge, among the Israelites. In communities in which the stroke of the law for a man's wrong, or for his blood, is, as yet, in his own hands, or that of his kindred; as with the Goel ha dum, or redeemer of blood, in Israel; or, with the pencenedl with the Britons, it is often desirable to stay the avenging hand as long as the blood is hot with newlykindled wrath.

"Sanctuary in shrines is still in full operation in Persia," says Lady Shiel, "and, though often an evil, it is on the whole, as it was in Europe, a vast benefit. Where the law is weak, and the administration corrupt, society requires some extraneous support independent of both. The guilty, it is true, sometimes escape, but the innocent and weak are often protected." "Slay her not in the house

of the Lord," was the cry of the priest over Athalia (2 *Chronicles*, xxiii, 14); and, although our notions of the holiness of the house of God may be lower than that of our forefathers, yet we should hardly see with indifference a man hanged by the sheriff in one of our churches.

Again, since the king, or high law-holder, is the keeper of the peace of a people, so it is deemed among most nations to be more atrocious to break his peace in his presence, or in his court, than elsewhere; and to guard against this evil, almost every one who held any office at the palace of the Welsh kings of old had a protection, *nawdd*, for a man in their presence against the hands of his pursuer. The Palace Judge (Brawdwr Llys), or the Controller of the Household, could lead a man by his *nawdd* to the Queen and place him under her *nawdd*. The head huntsman's protection reached as far as his horn could be heard—that of the physician from his starting to see a patient till he came back—that of the mead-brewer, from the time when the mead was mashed in the vat till the cloth was put over it—that of the baker, from the first dipping of mead till the end of the dinner. The protection of the door-keeper (drysawr) extended as far as his arm, with his wand, could reach towards the gate-keeper (porthiwr)—that of the cook lasted from the in-bringing of the first dish till that of the last—that

of the candle steward (canwyllyd) from first candle lighting till out-putting of the last—that of the hind to the boundary of his farm—that of the watchman from the setting of the watch till the opening of the gate—that of the woodman as far as he could throw his hatchet—and that of the backster as far as she could throw her peel or slice—that of the *pencerdd*, or head musician, from the first to the last song in the hall—and even the washerwoman had her nawdd, "Hyd a gallo fwrw ei golchbren," as far as she could throw her washbat, for the Cymry women of old washed their clothes, as I have heard do those of some parts of France, with a bat or small beetle.

In the palace of Howel Dda there was an office unknown in that of the Queen of England, that of Troediawg or feet-holder, who at the king's wish held his feet in his warm bosom, and his nawdd lasted from the time the king might first place his feet in his bosom till he went to bed. By the law triads, the violation of a man's nawdd was a crime equal to that of violence on his person.

BRITISH WAR CHARIOTS, &c.

There was an age of war chariots, a space of some hundreds of years in the world's time, when most nations, from Babylon to Britain, brought into the

field, against their foes, warriors who rode swiftly through their ranks in light two-wheeled carriages. The kings of early Nineveh, the mighty warriors of Egypt, Canaan, and Persia, and the Homeric heroes of Greece, as well as those of Rome, were all, at times, wafted over the field of blood on wheels, like a whirlwind: and, since useful commodities will outspread, in widening circles, from one nation to another, as the gun, the mariner's compass, the steam-engine, the railroad, the electric telegraph, so the war chariot at length appeared in the warfare of the Britons.

The King of Egypt followed the Israelites with six hundred chosen chariots (*Exodus*, xiv, 7), and Joshua found war chariots again with kings of Canaan (*Joshua*, xi, 9). Jabin, King of Canaan, who vexed Israel for twenty years, had nine hundred war chariots (*Judges*, iv, 3). When David overcame Hadadezer-ben-Rehob, King of Zobah, he took from him a thousand chariots; and, notwithstanding, the Israelites were forbidden to multiply horses to themselves, David kept horses for a hundred chariots (2 *Samuel*, viii, 4); and Solomon had a force of one thousand four hundred chariots (1 *Kings*, x, 26). In Solomon's time, the war chariots were of Egyptian make, and imported each at the price of four horses (1 *Kings*, x, 29).

The usual form of the war chariot may be

gathered from the sculptures of Egypt and Nineveh, and the coins of the Romans. It was of light make, and ran on two low wheels; it had sides bending into a round head, and was open behind, so that the driver might step or spring up into it, and it was fastened by a pole outreaching between two horses, with a thwart-bar (yoke) bearing on the horses' backs.

The war chariots held the place of our cavalry, but yet there seem to have been horsemen with them (*Exodus*, xiv, 7; 2 *Samuel*, viii, 4). In war, the chariot usually bore two men—the warrior, and the driver (1 *Kings*, xxii, 34), both of whom stood up; and so, when the king of Israel was wounded, he was stayed up in his chariot, that he might not be seen to have fallen, and so to have been wounded.

A chariot was used for travelling (2 *Kings*, x, 15), and the owner could take up a friend with him; but how far the chariot for the road differed from that for the field, is not easy to show. A seat may have been placed in it (*Acts*, viii, 28; 2 *Kings*, x, 15).

It is not so clear what was the office of the captains of the chariots (*Exodus*, xiv, 7). Their Hebrew name *Shleeshim*, third, or triad, might imply that there were three of them to a chariot, unless the word, as is more likely, is of the same

meaning as the British Trimarchwys, which meant a driver of three horses.

The war chariot of the Britons was called by themselves *rhodawg*, by the Romans *reda*, or *esseda*, and it had fastened to the axles or wheels, a pair of out-reaching knives (falces); and if the vulgate of Judges (chap. iv, 3) is right, the chariots of *Jabin*, King of Canaan, were of the same kind, as it reads as if the chariots of iron were chariots armed with iron. The Romans seemed to have known the *covinus*, the British *cywain*, a kind of cart.

The Britons of Cæsar's time underwent daily training, and could stop their horses on steep slopes, and turn them in small spaces; they could run up the pole, and stand on the yoke, and quickly withdraw into the chariot. Thence Juvenal (Sat. iv, 126),

> ——"aut de temone Britanno
> Excidet Arviragus:"——
>
> ——"or from the British yoke
> Shall fall Aviragus:"——

They first rode against the foe, throwing darts among them, and would sometimes leap from their chariots and fight on foot, while the drivers withdrew aside from the fight, though they sometimes held themselves ready to drive in again to bring their men from great peril.

It would seem as if their wheels were of rough make, or ungreased, and creaked loudly since

Cæsar says, the creaking of the wheels, "strepitus rotarum," helped to throw the ranks of their foes into disorder (Cæsar, i, 19).

It is markworthy that we cannot tell from the writings of any of the old nations, either the time or the cause of the discontinuance of the war chariot. It is thought that there is a hint of a leader with a *rhodawg*, in Aneurin's poem on the battle of Cattraeth; and the spear-edged chariot is found in a verse of Taliesin (6th century?); and it seems, by Cynddelw, that Owain Cyveiliog, prince of Powys, in the 12th century, was ready to roam amid armies in his *rhodawg*. But no war chariot is even named in the law triads, nor in the laws of Howel Dda (9th or 10th century), in which horses and implements are rated for the sake of compensation; but those laws do not rate or name any wheeled carriage, and, therefore, they might not have rated a *rhodawg*, which would be as seldom stolen as a waggon, or cart, among us; but it is somewhat markworthy that we English have no writing or tradition from our forefathers, the Saxons, that they met war chariots in the field of their fights with the Britons, though the first of them was as early as the 5th century.

The Britons seem to have a rather clear idea of a good war-horse. In their opinion, he should be strong and round, bold-paced, broad-backed, large-

chested, close-thighed, firm-hoofed, even-going, gently-proud, capering, and wide-nostrilled, with eyes grey.

The usual shield of the Britons was a small round hand-shield, with a plain boss, the *tarian*. A tarian was, at one time, rated at eight-pence (two-fifths of a cow), but with blue or gold enamel, twenty-four pence, which is more than the worth of a cow. A buckler, a target, or arm-shield, beraes, aes, or asavar, is named by some British writers.

By the laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud (Molmutius), the lawful weapons were a sword, a spear, and a bow with a sheaf of twelve arrows, which every householder was to have ready. The Britons, or at least, the old Cymry, had other weapons: as the dart, the lance, a dagger, and a long-bladed spear (Havnawr).

DID KING ALFRED OR THE SAXONS DIVIDE ENGLAND INTO HUNDREDS?

Many of our writers on English history and law, with Blackstone among them, have led us to believe that the Saxons—even King Alfred himself—divided England into hundreds and tithings.

If Alfred, or Ethelred, or Ina, or any other early king, whose code is come down to us, had formed

England into hundreds, we may fairly believe that so great a work of government would have been made and set forth by his laws. It is not, however, to be found as an act of the laws of any of our Saxon kings, though the laws of Edgar and Ethelred speak strongly on the need of men being enrolled in some *freoburh*, whether hundred or tithing; though not as if frankpledge, or hundreds, or tithings were new things, but as if they were already known institutions. The hundreds had a hundred's *gemot*, or court, and were called Waepentace or *Weapon-teaching*, or drill-divisions, and they were for war and land-right; but had no hundreds-borough: while the tithings were for *freoburh* or frankpledge, and had no *gemot;* and might not have been formed till long after the hundreds.

I am not aware that there are found in Denmark, or in Friesland, or Germany, or among any Teutonic tribe from which our forefathers came forth, any such divisions as hundreds and tithings, or any traces or histories of their boroughship. Tacitus does speak of bands of ten fighting men, or a kind of war-tithings among the Germans; but we cannot learn from him how far they were meant for a safeguard of personal rights at home, like our English tithings; and if the Angles or Saxons brought to Britain the division of land into hundreds, as a well-known institution of their fatherland,

it is a wonder that their fatherland neither retains the divisions themselves, nor any history of their abolition.

Many of the heads or court-places of hundreds were at British barrows, or earthworks on lonesome downs. In Dorsetshire, are the hundreds of Culliford Tree, a barrow on a bleak down; Eggerton, an earthwork on a hill; Badbury, another such fastness; Hundreds-barrow, Row-barrow, Loose-barrow, Hasler, mounds or barrows. Among hundreds' courts, in outstep places, are Combsditch, a great ditch, running north of Whitchurch, Kingston, and Anderson; Uggescombe, a hollow; Cogdean, a hill near Wimborne, and other outstep places, as Goderthorn, Tollerford, Brownshall, and Redlane. Such outstep places were those also of the hundreds' courts of the Isle of Wight.

Now, the Saxons, as farmers, were mostly dwellers on the lower ground, where they formed their *túns* in the places of our own villages, and we have but slight grounds for believing that the hill-barrows, or fastnesses of the Britons, would have any strong claims, in their minds, to be chosen as the new heads of newly-formed hundreds.

In the forming of our polling districts, or of our unions under the poor-laws, we never thought of forming such districts as that of *Broad-eweleaze* or *Long-ditch*, or the union of *Big-barrow* or *Willow-*

brook-mead, but we took, for the head of each district or union, one of the main populations in it, and called it after the name of the populous head.

Many of the spots which were the old hundreds' courts are such as never had a thick population of Saxons, and some of them have never had an English house; but it is well known that the Britons chose eminences for their *Gwyddfau*, places of presence or appearance, or bard courts, which were usually holden on a handmade mound, called *y Crug y Gorsedd*, or court mound, such as the barrows which still linger at many of the court places of our hundreds.

The Welsh even now call the top of Snowdon *Gwyddfa*:—

> "Hawdd yw d'wedyd dacow'r Wyddfa,
> Nid eir drosti ond yn ara."
>
> "It is easy to say 'There is Snowdon,'
> But it is slow climbing up it."

Either because it has been one, or because, as a height, is a worthy pattern of one. The hill at Culliford Tree is a fair eminence, as it stands with the rest of the hundred, and the court mound is precisely such a mound as a *crug-y-gorsédd*, though whether like the others on the spot, it may be also a cairn, or not, I cannot tell.

One of the Welsh Triads, the 37th of the Triads of the Isle of Britain, states the overwhelming

by the sea of a Hundred—Cantref y Gwaelod—the Lowland hundred, which is said to have lain in Cardigan Bay, in the time of King Emrys, or Ambrosius, about A.D. 478. It seems that the Cantref y Gwaelod was screened from the water, like some lands of Holland, by dams; and even now high ridges, like tops of old dams, which the Welsh call *Sarn*, show themselves at low water, and the largest of them, *Sarn Badrig*, is often dry for several miles. Many of the Triads are so old that we can hardly assume that the word *cantref*, or hundred, which is thus woven into one of them, was unknown to the Welsh till after the time of Alfred. In the time of Howel Dda—the tenth century at the latest—the Welsh Cantref was composed thus: 4 erw (acres), 1 tyddyn (messuage); 4 tydden, 1 rhandir (shareland); 4 rhandir, 1 gafael (holding or tenement); 4 gafael, 1 tref (homestead); 4 tref, 1 maenawr (stone-marking or, manor); 12 maenawr, 1 dref; 2 dref, 1 cwmmwd; 2 cwmmwd, 1 cantref (or hundred). It is true that whether the Cymry took the institution of the British cantref from the Saxon hundred, or whether the Saxons took the hundreds as they had been formed by the Britons, and kept their limits and *Gwyddfau*, neither of the races took the under divisions from the other, for the British hundred is undershared into tithings, while the Welsh *cantref* is made up of a set

number of maenawr or manors, homesteads or hamlets, farm holdings, and ploughlands. The Welsh cantref seems to be built up of the shares of lower names, and not divided down into them, since we must be aware, on the slightest thought, that we could not take tracts of lands of equal or given quantities, and then make them contain the same tale of already formed ploughlands, farms, and manors at our will, although we might form successively the same tales of lower shares into *cantrefydd*. The Saxons may have taken the British *cantrefydd* or hundreds with their *wyddfau* for their courts, and afterwards formed tithings within them, for it does not necessarily stand good that a tithing is so called as a *teothing* or tenthing of a hundred. It may take its name from the tithings or tens of the free householders, for even in Dorset some of the hundreds have more and some fewer than ten tithings. The Saxons most likely found the hundreds already formed by the Britons for land rights and war service, and then formed within them tithings, or free-borough, or frankpledges of ten freemen for personal rights.

BRITISH TREATMENT OF CRIME.

I have already said that it seems to have been the aim of the law with the Britons and Saxons, to offward wrongs from its people, or more especially that wrongs should be righted, and this bears on a subject of much thought in our own time. One of our great social questions is, "What shall we do with our criminals?" But as a way to an answer of that question, I would ask, "For what end should we do anything at all with them?" A reader may be astonished at what he may deem so needless a question, since he may believe that the aim of what we call punishment is well known to all men. But I have heard two or three aims imputed to the law, in what we call the punishment of criminals, when it is short of death. It has been said that it is for the reformation of the criminal—that it is for a warning to others—that it is for justice—that it is for the safety of the community,—and, therefore, I still believe that the answer to the question "What are we to do with our criminals?" will be best found in the way of a true answer to the other, "For what end should we do anything with them?" or, "What is the true aim of the law action which we call punishment?" I believe the true end of what is called punishment, is (1) the

offwarding of wrong from the subjects of the law, and (2) where wrong is done, the righting of the wrong; and that if any aim short of these be taken as that of the law, lawmakers will make mistakes which will bring on evil where they look only for good.

If the law required a goring bull to be taken from a thoroughfare to a pathless field, or a mad dog to be tied up, it would not be for the end of reforming either of the animals, or of warning to others of their kind. It would be for the end of offwarding evil from the subjects of the law. It may be said that if a criminal man were reformed, further wrong would be so far offwarded from the subjects of the law by his reformation. It may be so, but the question is—what is the true end of law action on criminals? Is it the reformation of the man, or the offwarding of his wrong from others, or the righting of his wrongdoing? Tell us that.

A father, whose boy may have begun wrongdoing against others, may correct him so as to reform him. But then, the father's care all the while may be to keep his son, for his son's sake, from the evil of his wrongdoing, and that with little or no heed to the good of others, or to the offwarding of evil from the people of his land, or to the warning which other boys may take from his punishment. But, I say, on the other hand, that

the mind of the law to a criminal is not rightly that of fatherhood, but that of justice; and its true aim is the righting of wrong for the good of the wronged man, and not of the wrongdoer; and here is the difference between the mind of the law or the judge, and that of the chaplain or reformer. The law's, or the judge's true aim is only the withholding of the criminal from doing evil to other men, without any heed to the criminal himself; the chaplain's, or reformer's aim is that of withholding the criminal from working evil to his own soul, without heed to others. And I do not believe it will answer for the judge and reformer to take up each other's work, or to mingle one with the other. It may be from mistaking the true ends of law and justice that Christian men cavil with both in their dealings with wrongdoing.

Many cry it is unmerciful to take the life of a murderer, or to punish a wrongdoer. But the truth is, that if law or justice follows its true aim, it is a power of mercy to those who are wronged or threatened by the evil of the wicked man's mind. It is no power of mercy to him; the only power of mercy to him is that of Christ, through any instrument but law, which he has disowned as an instrument of his Spirit, though he has not forbidden the use of it to his Church. But surely, if A has wronged B, there is nothing against mercy in the

law which wins back for B, from A, a measure of what may be deemed the converse good to the evil he has wrought him.

One may readily allow, and even declare, that it is unmerciful to punish one man only for the good of others whom he has never wronged; but then, I believe that the true end of the law in its action on a wrongdoer, is not a warning to others, and I believe it is unmerciful to the wronged man to leave, as our laws often leave, his wrong unrighted, while it works for the good of the wrongdoer, whether in his reformation, or otherwise.

To the question, "What shall we do with our criminals," my answer would be, do as the Saxons and Britons did: Try to make them right their wrongs. I say, try to do it; do it as far as you can. I am quite aware it would be hard to make every criminal right every wrong. But the earnest thought of a whole nation would soon find ways of working out an end which may now seem unattainable. As the case is now, I believe a thief with two sovereigns in his pocket, may steal the only bit of meat from a poor man's house, and consume it, and may be sent to jail, where, though his money may be taken from him for awhile, it would be restored to his hand on his outgoing; while the law takes no more care that the criminal should make good the wronged man's loss, than if he had enjoyed

his meat with his children. His wrong is to remain unrighted, and the thief's money is to remain undiminished. He may take of others' store, but the law will not compel him to make amends out of his own. It may be answered: "The man is punished for his crime; you would not punish him two ways?" Well then, make him right his wrong, and then punish him otherwise or not, as you think fit. But why should not a criminal be punished two ways? He sins two ways. He sins against the subject of the law, and the holder of the law, the Queen. And so well aware were the Saxons and Britons of the twofold wrong of a criminal, that they had the geäld and gwerth to right the private wrong, and a fine called a *wite* or *camlwrw* for the wrong against the king's peace; and if a man is convicted of murder, is not his life now taken as the geäld, and his land confiscated for the *wite?* The question whether a man should lose both his life and wealth was raised in British times; but an old British lawgiver says, "Yes; a murderer ought not to die in debt." It seems then, that the aim of our law should be, to find some way by which criminals may be made by their goods or labour (if it be hard, painful, unhealthy, there is no help for it; harmless men bear such toil for their bread) to right, either wholly, or in proportionate shares, all their wrongs; and if a man's crime is so great that the toil of his

life cannot work amends for it, let him work amends to right it through life, or at least, till the evil of it is in some way removed from the wronged man.

There is in the Bible a passage which seems to uphold the notion that the end of punishment is warning to others, it is 1 *Timothy*, v, 20, "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear." But the act of this text is not to punish, but to rebuke or convince, and, moreover, it is not the act but the publicity of it, that is to work for the fear of others. But, after all, it is to be hoped that others will take warning from the consequences of crime, and that criminals will be reformed; the truth for which I am writing being only that the true end of the law of crime is not the reformation of the criminal, nor terror to other men. The notion that the end of punishment is example or terror, has worked itself out in shocking atrocities in many ages and lands, from the flaying of men alive, down to blowing them from guns. And the notion that the end of the law is the reformation of the criminal, has made crime beneficial to a man, and sent eyes to watch almost every pulsation of a criminal's life, and ears to listen for every murmur of his uneasiness; while the wronged man is left unheeded under all his wrong.

CHARACTER AND INTELLIGENCE OF THE BRITONS.

Herodian says of the Britons, that they were warlike and bloodthirsty; and Horace, that they were cruel to foreigners; but most likely we English, though we may deem ourselves men of a more refined life, should be found quite as warlike and bloodthirsty, as were the Britons to the Romans, if another race were to bring in the sword against us.

It may be more likely than wonderful that a boy, who has irritated another to mad anger, may call him a spitfire. Tacitus calls Britons, at the time of the rising under Boadicea, a fierce (ferox) province, though for *fierce* a man of a friendly race might have called them *brave*. That the Britons were cruel to peaceful foreigners is not made good, though it seems that in the reign of Tiberius, who himself was not over mild, the soldiers of Germanicus, who were shipwrecked on the British shore, were taken up and sent safe home by the Britons; and, by the law of Howel Dda, if foreigners were cast on shore by shipwreck, then for three nights and three days, while it was believed they could not know the Welsh language or law, nothing but restoration was to be required of them for their

theft; and, by one of the Law Triads, a foreigner on trial was to have an advocate afforded to him by the king. In our English times, the wandering, or benighted, or storm-beaten Saxon, in the valleys of Wales, would hardly be treated at a cottage door in a way that would show the Welsh to be cruel to strangers.

The writer with a friend was once walking up the vale of Neath, and came hot and thirsty to a little alehouse, where he called for some ginger-beer; but, as he was still very thirsty, he asked the good woman of the house if she would bring him a cup of cold water. She set it before him, and, with his Saxon notion of service at an inn, he offered her for his glass of water the price of as much ale. She up-straightened her short figure to its tallest stretch, threw back her shoulders, hollowed in her back, and tossed her head with the strongest feelings of wounded dignity, and strutted out of the room: "I take money for a cup of cold water; "Arian am gupan o ddwfr!!" He called, and knocked table and door, to bring her back, but she wanted neither his company or money, and he slunk away a miserable mercenary Saxon, under the Cymräes's highest disdain.

Soon afterwards he read in the *Salisbury Journal*, August, 1856, that "the Water Company at Warrington, near Manchester, prosecuted a man in the

borough court for stealing as much water as would mix a seidlitz powder, which he wished to drink! The magistrates, however, dismissed the case and gave the defendant his costs."

An old Triad, which does not seem to bear the doctrines of a fierce people, says, "There are three men on whom every one should look with esteem: —(1) One who looks with love on the face of the earth; (2) on works of art; and (3) on little children."

The Welsh do not believe themselves to be less mild than the Saxons; and, on the destructive bent of the Saxon mind, they have a saying, by which we may see ourselves as others see us:—

"Chware Cymro digrifwch,
Chware Sais angeu."

"The play of the Welshman is fun,
The play of the Saxon is death."

Another old Triad shows that the Cymry honoured the arts and learning—"The three ornaments of a land are (1) a barn, (2) a smithy, and (3) a school;" and that the old Britons had a national school of poetry and music, and that one of the declared works of the bard was the winning of truth and *peace*, and that in their faith of soul-transmigration they held, that for cruelty a soul would sink low into the circle of evil *(abred)* bespeaks no little refinement of the British mind.

A singular law of the tenth century shows the Welshman's regard to the rights of the public, and his love of mind-striking ceremony. If a man cut down a tree in the highway, he was to pay a fine to the law; and if the king came that way, he was to hide the stump or root with *Brethyn unliw*, a kind of one-hued (blue) cloth, which was to be bought at his own cost.

Cæsar says that the Britons thought it wrong for a child (a minor, in puerili ætate) to sit in public in the presence of his father, which may be formally true. By the laws of Howel Dda, a boy of less than fourteen years was nobody in law, and had no voice in the gorsedd; and it was not till he had been received as a tribesman, after his fourteenth year, that he could sit at a gorsedd, or gathering, as a Briton of full rights, either with his father, or any other man.

It is hard to believe that Cæsar can be quite right, in imputing to the Britons the horrid law of a plurality of husbands. The law Triads clearly declare that a man shall not have more than one wife. It may be true that they were the laws of Christian Britons, but they afford no hint or trace of any older law that a woman may have many husbands. Were it not too true that such a state of social life is found amongst some tribes of Nepaul, our common knowledge of mankind would forbid our belief that

it could uphold itself on the earth: but it seems likely that in Nepaul it has been induced by infanticide, or other interference (through women's dowry or somewhat else) with nature's proportion of one sex to the other, and therefore an interference of which we find no trace among the Britons.

Tacitus writes of Boadicea (Byddyg) as the wife of Prasutagus (Brasydog), and speaks of the wife and daughter of Caractacus; and of Carthismandua, (Curtisfinddu) queen of the Brigantes, as the wife of Venusius, and tells us that she disgraced her house by her marriage with his officer Vellocatus, though it is clear that she could not have disgraced her house by a marriage with another husband, if such a marriage had been allowed and everywhere found among her people.

In the law Triads, laws of husband and wife speak of each as the husband and wife of one mate; and in those of divorce and widowhood, and the rights and offices of children, not a word leads to any insight into the polygamy of Cæsar's Commentaries. Howel's laws of divorce are very exact, and formed with as much forecast as that which gave us our new divorce bill. On a divorce with several children, two-thirds of them, the oldest and youngest, were the husband's, and the wife took the middle ones. Pigs went to the man, sheep to the woman; while the wife took the milk vessels,

and the husband retained the mead-brewing tackle, and the mead-table drinking-ware. The husband had the big sieve or range, and gave his wife the small one. He took the upper mill-stone, and the lady the nether one. He retained the under-bedding, she bore off the upper. She had the meal, and left her husband the unground corn. The geese and ducks, and all the cats but one, were hers, and the husband had the hens, and one mouser.

The Welsh laws call a household, father, mother, and especially the children, *Gwely*, a bed, which may only bear a reference to the children's birth, and may not outshow the evils which we rue in the too scanty sleeping-rooms of some of our poor.

Tacitus writes that the Britons who came against the Romans under Boadicea, brought their wives and placed them on waggons as witnesses of their victory, which, however, they never won. But the war arose out of woman's wrongs, and the sword of vengeance was drawn by a woman; and why should not women, therefore, have stood by their queen, as witnesses against the wrongs of their sex.

The seafaring skill of the Britons, and their commerce with Gaul, are shown by Cæsar, who writes that they sent over forces on behalf of the Gauls in their wars with Rome, and when the first of Cæsar's ships reached the British shore, the

Britons were drawn up with cavalry and war chariots on all the hills. What more than the Britons could we do with our steamers and electric telegraph, to leave our foe free to take his own time and place of landing, and yet to be standing in array before him as he anchors by our shore.

The old Welsh held iron working in high esteem, as smithship was reckoned by them, with scholarship and music, as a liberal art, such that if a slave were bred to it, he would thereby become free.

RELIGION OF THE BRITONS.

The religion of the heathen Britons was seemingly a belief in the transmigration of souls, or that souls do not die, but go from one being or state to another. They believed in three states or *circles* of being. The circle of *infinity* with nothing but God, or which God only could traverse; the circle of *abred* or *evil;* and the circle of *gwynved* or *happiness*. They held that man fell by sin into the circle of *abred*, though he was not doomed to everlasting evil, but at length outspent the circle of evil, and came back to another chance of reaching the circle of happiness. For three things, says a Triad, will the lot of the *abred* fall on man:—1, a disregard of knowledge; 2, a slighting of the good; and 3, a

love of evil. He will fall for these things to an answering state of abred, and transmigrate back as at first. By knowing three things, teaches another Triad, there will be a waning and overcoming of every evil and death—effect, cause, and agent; and this will be attained in the circle of happiness. Another Triad reckons three circles of being for man: 1, manhood or earthlife; 2, *abred;* 3, *gwynved.*

It is rather markworthy that these states of being are called *cylch*, circle, and that the Britons were so fond of the circle in their temples, their carneddau and crugau, and even their houses. Stonehenge was a circle of more than a hundred stones, and that of Abury, in Wiltshire, was a great circle inclosing more than twenty-eight acres of ground, with smaller circles within it. The largest Druid temple is that of Carnac, in France. It is formed of 400 stones in eleven rows, making ten avenues, and reaching in one place, continuously, for a mile and a half, though elsewhere the rows are broken. Remains of Druid circles mark the place called Stanton Drew, in Somerset, and there is a small one near Bridehead, in Dorsetshire, and another at Shap, in Westmoreland.

The charge of polytheism against the early Britons, rests upon rather slight grounds. It does not appear in the old Triads, with the doctrine

of the transmigration of the soul. The theogony of most of the heathens sprang out of metaphors and personifications of the material and spiritual phenomena of the world, as when we say *truth* will justify the right, and *justice* follows the wrongdoer; or *fortune* mocks her votaries; we make them a kind of mind-gods, though, it is true, we do not worship them; and, if we make an image of justice blindfolded, and holding scales, we make an emblematical kind of idol of justice, though we are not guilty of idolatry at its feet. So a Welsh saying is, "The *father* of *wisdom* is *memory*, and his *mother reflection*;" and "*Groan*, *shout*, and *scream*, are the three children of *Gash*, *Tear*, and *Rend*."

Cæsar says the Gauls held, as they were taught by the Druids, that they were sprung from *Dis*; and, therefore, they marked their spaces of time by nights, instead of days; as the Welsh say *wythnos*, that is, eight-night for a week, and we say a fortnight (fourteen-night) for two weeks. If *Dis* is dark nothingness, as I gather it is, then all the world, and all of us are sprung, by Almighty creation, from *Dis*.

It is quite true, as mythology tells us, that *Echo* is the daughter of *Aer* and *Tellus*, *air* and *earth*, in rocks and hill-sides; that she mocks Jove's thunder, as may be heard in the echo peals of deep valleys among mountains; and that she cannot speak till one speaks to her.

It is quite true, again, that *Vulcan* (fire) came from heaven as lightning; that he is lame on the earth, as he must be upholden by fuel; that he is the maker of the thunderbolt, and the forger of weapons, and tools of steel and iron; and that in the animal heat he is wedded to *Venus* (life, or beauty).

Cæsar says the Gauls worshipped *Mercury*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jove*, and *Minerva*. Mercury is thought, or mind-action; and so it is true that thought is swift and so winged, and is the inventor of music, and other arts, and the former of speech. Minerva is wisdom; and so it is true that she sprang from the Divine mind (Jupiter's brain); is *armed* against the might and snares of evil; and that, as Lucian, in joke, makes Jupiter say, *Vulcan* (inanimate fire) can never marry her. Apollo is the sun, brother of Diana, the moon; and it is true that, as constant shooters of rays of light, they are both archers. Mars is the fighting mind, or war, for which a British name is *Bel*, like the Latin bellum; and an altar was once found in the north of England with the inscription, "Bel y duw cadr" (Bel, or war, the mighty God).

The Britons might have learnt polytheism of the Romans. Many altars have been found in Britain to gods of British names, but with inscriptions in Latin, with the British name itself in the Latin form, as:

To Deo Cocideo, Duw Cochwydd.—The Red God. The Sun? Or War?

To Deo Mogont, or Mouno Cad, or Moyn Cad.—Bull of Fight.

To Deo Ceadio, Duw Cadiaw.—The Preserver.

To Deus Nodons, Duw Noddyn.—The Abyss.

Cæsar says that the Gauls believe that the Divine will could not be appeased but by the life of man for the life of man; and we, as far as we hold the doctrine of Genesis, ix, are of the same opinion. Cæsar says they had settled sacrifices of men, who were burnt to death in great wicker images; and that they believed that the deaths of thieves, and robbers, and other criminals, were most welcome to the gods; and the truth may be that the Gauls burnt their murderers and other criminals, instead of hanging them, as we do; though down to rather late years we burnt men for treason. But, says Cæsar, when a supply of criminals was wanting (when was that?) the sacrifices took up innocent men.

The good Roman says, the Gauls are much given to superstition; and, so those who are taken with severe diseases, or are amid wars and other perils, *vow* to give other men or themselves for victims. It must be allowed that it is a low superstition with which one man kills another that he may overlive a disease; and a still more foolish one for a man to

kill himself, as a token of thankfulness that he has outlived a peril of life.

The old Britons swore by the circle of the sun; but even in the christian times of Howel Dda, the king's head huntsman might swear by his dogs, horns, and leashes.

Tertullian A.D. 209, says those parts of Britain which the Roman sword had never reached had yielded to Christ, and in the time of Constantine the three Roman provinces of Britain had each a bishop.

A Triad says there were three perpetual choirs in the island of Britain, one in Ynys Avallach, Glastonbury; another at Caer Caradawc, Old Sarum, and the third at Bangor; and at each of those places twenty-four divisions of singers took each an hour of psalmody, which was kept up constantly day and night.

EARTHWORKS, &c., OF THE BRITONS.

The earthworks and buildings of the Britons are of several kinds:—1. Fastnesses, *Caerau*, for security from foes. 2. Mounds for law-gatherings, such as barrows that are heads of hundreds. 3. Mounds for Druid teachings and ceremonies, *Crugau*. 4. Burial places, *Carneddau*. British earthworks

have sometimes been imputed to the Romans, though the Roman camp was offmarked from the British *Caer* by a clear difference of form. The Roman camp was a straight-sided rectangular parallelogram, unless, in a few cases, an angle might have yielded to unhandy ground, as this is both the form given by Polybius, in his description of Roman castramentation, and also the form of the Roman works that are known to have been Roman castra, as those at Dorchester, and other places with names ending in *chester*.

The British earthworks, *Caerau*, followed the form of the ledge of their high ground, and have sometimes two or three parallel banks, and ramparts overlapping the gateway, as at Maiden Castle.

On stony soil, the Britons of the Roman time employed stone walls, as Tacitus shows us that the *Caer* of Caractacus was walled by loosely cast stones with loose fittings (rudes et informes saxorum compages), which were broken by the Romans with their Testudo; and other Latin writers speak of the *Caerau* of the Britons of their time as lowland fastnesses, begirt by banks and tree-limbs or stockades, in the midst of woods or meres of water; and if we believe, as there are good grounds for believing, that the Britons of the first century, like the Cymry of the ninth, were farmers, with their homesteads spread over the lowland grass-lands, we

cannot readily believe that they had many close-gathered town populations, like those of our towns, as they had not that division of labour, which now affords a livelihood in the sundry handicrafts, and trades, and professions of our townsmen: and much less likely is it, that a purely farming nation should have many towns of great settled populations on the ridges of our chalk downs. If British farmers lived on the hill, *caer*, for security from foes, where did they keep their cattle? All the farmers' households that would make up the population of Maiden Castle, as a town, could not keep all their cattle within it, throughout the year, without a rather wonderful method of stall feeding. And if the cattle were roaming over a circle of many miles of land round the *caer*, one cannot well understand that state of the community in which the farmer's own life would be at stake from foes, if he lived out of the *caer*, and yet that there was not as great a risk of loss for his cattle and herdsmen.

The Britons, under Cassivelaunus, fled before Cæsar, and gathered their cattle into his *caer;* and so, as cattle-stealing seems to have been one of the evils dreaded by the law with Britons and Saxons, the *caerau* might have been strongholds for cattle, from night robbers—men or wolves—and especially in the upland summer feed. Or hill forts might have been tribe fastnesses at an early time of

British life, where every pencenedl headed a little body of kindred, that might suddenly find it needful to fight out a quarrel of some wrong with another tribe; but, though it is not easy to conceive how a settled population could win a daily supply of water within such a place as Maiden Castle, it must be allowed that the Christian Britons had a permanent town at Old Sarum, because they had, in its church, one of the three perpetual choirs of Britain.

There are earthworks at the following places in Dorsetshire;—Abbotsbury, Badbury, Banbury, Bullbarrow (Stoke Wake), Cattistock, Chilcomb, Cranbourne, Crawford, Dudsbury (West Parley), Duntish (Buckland), Eggerton (Litton), Flowersbarrow (Lulworth), Hambledon (Child Okeford), Hodhill (Stowerpaine), Kingston Russel, Knowlton, Lambert Castle, Maiden Castle, Milborne Stileham, Melcombe Horsey, Pilsdon Hill, Shaftesbury, Toller Fratrum, and Woodbury Hill. Now, if the Durotriges, in the time of Cæsar, were one peaceful and law-bound tribe, against whom would they have built all those earthworks? Against the Belgæ? But the Belgæ do not seem to have broken into Dorset. Richard of Cirencester makes the Belgæ to have lived in Hampshire and Wilts, and Ptolemy coincides with him, as he places the Durotriges south-west of the Belgæ.

Something may yet be learnt of the comparative

earliness of the hill caerau, by the discovery, in further diggings, of such remains as sunbaked pottery, and weapons, or of tools, as they may be of flint or metal; and some clue may be afforded to the permanency of their occupation, by the discovery or want of cemeteries beside them; for it does not follow that the few barrows once visible in a county had taken the remains of all its British population, so that we can never find cemeteries near the hill earthworks.

The earthworks which we call barrows or tumuli, may be of two kinds, carneddau or burial mounds, and *crugau*, or mounds for law gatherings, and Druid ceremonies or sittings, as those barrows which, like Culliford Tree, are the heads of hundreds, and which, therefore, might have been *crugau y gorsedd*, or session mounds for hundreds, courts, or other law sittings. The *crug y gorsedd*, or council mound, was most likely the throne of the Druid in his teachings or promulgation of the law and faith, as the laws of the Isle of Man were formerly promulgated at Midsummer from a mound; and among the Britons, on the first of May, and at midwinter, there were holydays, when fires were kindled by the Druids on barrows all over the land, and every householder was bound to quench the fire of his hearth, and kindle it again by a brand from the *crug*. Now, one would like to know whether

carneddau, or burial mounds, were taken for the *crug y gorsedd* and the Druid ceremonies, or whether the *crug* was always a handbuilt or natural mound, clean of the dust of the dead. And this might be learnt, by comparing the barrows which are known to be burial barrows, with those that are the heads of hundreds, such as that of Culliford Tree, or such as those that may or may not be found (for I know not the spots) at Eggerton, Haselor, Rowbarrow, Cogdean, Loosebarrow, and others.

The word *crug* is pronounced *creeg*, and as the old *k* and *g* have become *tch* and *dge*, as in *thec*, *thatch*, *rig*, *ridge*, so *creeg* or *creek* would now have become *creech;* and, therefore, I believe, that at *Creech Grange*, or *Creech Barrow*, and at *Critchell* and *Creech St. Michael*, there was, or is, a *crug;* and it would be worth while to see if there are any traces of roads to it from any villages or a town which may have been a British abode, and whether there are under the turf, at any such mounds, any ashes of the British May fires.

Of Cistveni there are two kinds; the underground *cistvaen*, which was a stonelined grave, and the open air *cistvaen*, a kind of cell framed of slabs of stone, and, in some cases, covered with sod; and these, when they are stripped of earth may be cromlechs; and an old Welsh writer thinks they might have been prisons for criminals on the day of execution,

though some of them may be Druid cells. One in Wales is called by the neighbours a house, *Ty Illtyd*, and another a *prison*, *Carchar Cynyg Rhwth*.

Our word *manor* comes from a British one *maen-awr*, a stone bound, or manor, offmarked with boundary stones. May any of these British landmarks linger on our land?

BARDS.

The bards were the learned order of the Britons. It seems a mistake to take the Bards and Druids as two sundry classes of men, as the Druids were of the learned order, and therefore bards; though, when, upon the conversion of the Britons to Christianity, the Druids lost their office, the name of bard remained only on the other branches of the learned order.

There seems to have been at one time three divisions of bards. The Druids *(Derwyddon)*; Ovates or Eubates *(Ovyddion)*, or philosophers; and the poets and musicians *(Prydiddion)*.

A bard's person was holy. He bore no weapon, and no weapon was to be holden naked in his presence. Cæsar says:—"The Druids are wont to abstain from war, nor do they pay taxes with

others, and enjoy freedom from war service, and an immunity from all things;" for which he might have said, with more truth, "from *many* things," since they had several offices to fulfil to the State. Their freedom from war service, and some other worldly offices is exactly such as is granted to the clergy by English law, and it is no uncommon opinion that the sword is out of place in the hand of a Bishop.

A Triad says:—"Three things are forbidden to a bard—1st, to practise dispraise; 2nd, to practise immorality; and 3rd, *to bear arms.*" And another, "There are three injunctions of refraining on a bard—1st, to shun sloth, as being a man of action; 2nd, to *avoid contention*, as being a man of *peace*; and 3rd, to avoid folly, as being a man of reason." Another Triad is, "The three necessary duties of the bards of the Isle of Britain—1st, to manifest the truth, and to declare it; 2nd, to maintain a memorial of praise for what shall be good and excellent; and 3rd, to make *peace* prevail over anarchy and devastation."—*Barddas.*

The Druid was first a primary bard *(ovydd)*, and the meeting place of the bards or Druids was called the place of presence or appearance, *Gwyddva*, and was on a hill or mound, *crug y gorsedd*, as the bard meeting or session itself was called Gorsedd. The Druids were sent out from the *gorsedd* of the

primary bards to teach the people of the land, and a Triad seems to allude to the gathering of a crowd or congregation at the appearance of the bard at the *crug*, as it says, "There are three men who create society where they are—1st, a *bard;* 2nd, a smith; and 3rd, a harper." For the smith *(y gov)* of the olden times was highly honoured by the Welsh; and wherever he set up his forge (with respect for his British worthiness, be it said that he wandered like our tinker) the people flocked with their old or broken iron gear, or orders for new.

The ovydd, or primary bard, was sometimes a trucebearer, and in that office was called *gal ovydd* or *foe ovydd.* He wore a green robe, and a green adderstone, *glain neidr;* and Diodorus Siculus says that his presence and voice would sometimes send back the swords of two updrawn bodies of foes.

A poem, "Mic Dinbych," sings

> "Oedd ef fy nefawd i Nos Galan
> Lleddfawd y gan ri ryfel eirian
> A llen lliw choëg a meddu prain."
>
> "It was my custom on Newyear's night
> To soothe with song the war-bright king
> In a robe of green, at the mead feast."

Cæsar tells us the Druids were judges, and that if any man did not abide by their sentences, they excommunicated him, and that such an excommuni-

cation was felt as a very severe punishment, since he was shunned by others as a wicked being whose presence or talk would contaminate them, and he was an outlaw "neque iis petentibus fas redditur." The Druids' power of excommunication, or outlawry, has been deemed by some a dreadful piece of priest-craft or tyranny, though it is exactly what must be left in some hands, or in the hands of the law, in all lands.

Law is no law if there is no way of enforcing it: and we have outlawry for those who stubbornly contemn the law; and if the Lord Chancellor does not excommunicate men, many have been shut up in his gaol for contempt of his court. In 1850 there were said to be twenty-four of such men, wards of chancery in a bad sense, one of whom had been a prisoner more than thirty years, and only one of them less than three.

Cæsar thinks that Bardhood was formed in Britain, and carried from thence into Gaul; and had learnt that such Gauls as wished to take it up, came to Britain for their training, which seems confirmed by the title of the fully-graduated bard, which was, "Bardd ynys Prydain," Bard of the Island of Britain.

Cæsar says the Druids of Gaul met at a set time of the year in the lands of the Carnutes, which was deemed the middle of Gaul, and sat to determine

rights and wrongs. This session was what the Britons called the Gorsedd-y-Bardd, or session of the bards, which was never to be holden at night, nor before anterth, or fog-clearing, and was one of the primary sittings of the island of Britain; the other two being the sitting of the prince and people (the parliament); and the sitting of the convention of federation (congress of the small states). Cæsar had also understood that in Gaul there was a head Druid or bard over the bardic order, as there was in Britain a "Pendog-y-Drwyddion," arch-Druid; or, "Pen-Bardd," arch-bard.

A bardic Triad says, "There are three judges of the land: 1st, the harp-bard of the king; 2nd, the king's father's bard; and 3rd, the herald-bard of the palace." A Welsh work on heraldry says: "The custom of the old Welsh heralds was to reckon learning of equal dignity with the noblest descent."

The Druids or bards were not a caste, but an order, which was open to any youth, who showed trustworthy tokens of *(awen)* genius. A Triad says:—"Three things, without which none can be a bard—1, genius *(awen)* for poetry; 2, knowledge of the craft of bardship; and 3, good morals." Another early bardic Triad makes a bard of equal rank with a king. In another, he is ranked with the bishop, and harper; and in the laws of Howel

Dda, he was the eighth officer in the king's household.

The full bard was called "bardd caw," or the banded bard, as he wore a band *(caw)* on the arm, below the shoulder; and a Triad divides the bards into three classes:—1, the harp bard; 2, the poet bard; and 3, the herald bard; or, again, 1, the high bard, or bardd glas (blue bard, as he wore a blue robe, with a blue cowl); 2, the Ovydd, Ovate, or Arwyddvardd, herald bard, or Gwynvardd (white bard, as he wore a white robe); and 3, the Derwyddvardd (Druidbard), or Cylvardd. The blue hood of the high bard, or blue bard, was called Barddgwccwl, bard cowl; and was borrowed from the Britons by the Druids of Gaul, and from them by the Romans.

Martial xiv, 128, writes: "Gallia Santonica vestit te bardocucullo"—Gaul has clad thee in a Santonic bard cowl—a bard cowl of the Santones or Gauls of Guienne. The ruling bards were law judges, and it is markworthy that the university hood of a bachelor of law, is now a blue one. Our proverb, "True blue will never stain;" in Welsh, "y gwîr lâs ni chyll mo i liw," may have originated with the bardic blue.

The office of the Bardd Telyn (harp-bard) was to praise God with string; that of the Bardd Cywydd to praise in speech or poetry; and that of the

Herald-bard to praise in preserving the memory of great actions.

Cæsar says the Druids were holden in great honour, which seems to be shown by an old Welsh saying, "He has not lost his way who strays to the house of a Druid." The wren is called *dryw*, which is another name for Druid, and it is deemed unlucky to take its nest:—

"Neb a dyno nyth y dryw,
Ni cheiff iechyd yn ei fyw."
"He that takes a wren's nest,
Will have no health all his life."

The Isle of Anglesea was formerly an especial abode of the Druids. It contains a place called "Tre-r-Dryw," Druid's village, and the abode of the Pendog-y-Druidion, head of the Druids near it: 1, Bod-y-Druidion, or Dinas-y-Druidion, abode of Lower Druids; 2, Bod Owyr, or Ofyddion, place of the Ovates; 3, Tre'r Bardd, or Prydiddion, village of the bards or poets.

When the Romans invaded Anglesea, the Druids met them in bright robes, with diadems on their heads, and long wands in their hands, and maidens with lighted wax-lamps dancing before them.

Many of our old towns are said to have been capitals of Druiddoms, among them, Llundain, London; Caerwrangon, Manchester; Rhydychain, Oxford; Caerloew, Gloucester; Caerlleon ar Wysg, Caerleon on the Usk; and Caerfyrddin, Caermarthen.

WHAT ARE THE WELSH TRIADS?

It often happens in the physical and spiritual world that things present themselves to the mind by threes. There are three rectangular axes in a solid, and three angles and sides in a triangle; in ratio, we have the equal, greater, and less; in quality, good, bad, and indifferent; in time, the present, the past, and the future; and in life, the vegetable, animal, and spiritual. There are three forms of insect life, the chrysalis, the larva, and the insect; and three divisions of an insect's body, the head, the thorax, and the abdomen. In grammar, we find the agent, the recipient, and the agent recipient; or the active, passive, and neuter voices. There are three primary colours; and there are three answers to a charge of wrongdoing, denial, confession, and justification; and in Christian faith there is earthlife, hell, and heaven. The Trinity of the Brahmins, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Siva—whether they may be creation, life, and death, or what else, is another case of threeness; and one of our humorous writers says "Three was the number of the Graces, the Furies, the Fates, the Syrens, and the Gorgons. Apollo had his tripod, and Neptune his trident; and one, two, three, and away, was the note for starting at the Olympic races; and the

ancients used to call thrice upon every corpse to know if it could start any objection to its being interred." So again, Aristotle, in his Ethics, makes virtue to be a golden or happy mean in a threeness of feeling or forms of action, with a vicious deficiency on one side, and a bad excess on the other. *Confidence* being a mean of *timidity* and *rashness;* while *temperance* stands between *apathy* and *fury;* and *tolerance* between *intolerance* and *indifference*. *Liberality* is the golden mean with *stinginess* and *profusion*, and *kindness* with *cringingness* and *arrogance*.

Now, the British mind, or, at least the mind of the Druids and teachers of the Britons, seems to have holden to the threenesses of things more earnestly than that of any other people; and the Druids, lawgivers, and other teachers, grounded upon them their teachings of divinity, law, and art, in which they delivered truths in clusters of three, which they called *trioedd*, or threenesses. It may be true, that after they had begun with trioedd of truths that naturally presented themselves in threes, they followed up their plan so far, that, in some cases, they formed triads of truths by arbitrary association; but yet it is wonderful how often their Triads are well-found threenesses of the world of matter or mind; and how handy for the memory is the triad form of arrangement.

There are three kinds of men—1, A man of God, who does good for evil; 2, A man of the world, who does good for good, and evil for evil; and 3, A man of Satan, who does evil for good. Some of the Bardic Triads on divinity and the soul must be very ancient, as they relate to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was of course displaced by Christianity. There are three circles of being, 1, Cylch y ceugant—circle of infinity, where there is nothing but God; 2, Cylch yr abred—circle of evil, where all things spring from death; and 3, Cylch y gwynfedd—circle of happiness, where all things spring from life. For three things there will be a falling into abred: for pride, to the lowest state; for falsehood, to a proportionate depth; and for cruelty, to a proportionate brutality; whence to traverse to humanity as before. For three things there will be a falling into abred: 1, A disregard of knowledge; 2, A slighting of good; 3, A following of evil. He will fall for these things to an answering state of evil *(abred)*, and transmigrate back as at first.

Triads might have been formed from time to time, as there was a call for them in the gathering of new facts, or the teaching of new doctrines. Some of them, therefore, may be very old, and others are of later times.

Pomponius Mela had heard of one :—

"Ut forent ad bella meliores;"
"Æternas esse animas;"
"Vitamque alteram ad manes."

"To act bravely in war;"
"That souls are immortal;"
"That there is another life after death."

Diogenes Laertius got one of more accurate form :—

"Σεβειν τούς Θέους
Καὶ μηδεν κακον δρᾶν
Καὶ ανδρείαν ασκεῖν."

1, To worship the Gods; 2, To do no evil; 3, To cherish fortitude. This answers to a known Welsh Triad: Tri cynghorion doethineb; 1, Ufyddâd i ddeddfau Duw; 2, Ymgais er lles dyn; 3, A dyoddef yn lew bob dygwydd bywyd. The three beginnings of wisdom :—obedience to the laws of God; concern for the good of mankind; and bravely bearing the evils of life. The three testimonies of God as to what He does :—1, Infinite power; 2, Infinite knowledge; 3, Infinite love. Three cases where there is most of God :—1, Where He is most sought; 2, Where He is most loved; 3, Where there is least of self. Three things on the increase :—1. Light; 2, Truth; and 3, Soul; and they will overcome all things, and there will be an end of *abred* (evil). The three laughters of the silly :—1, At what is good; 2, At

what is evil; and 3, At what he does not understand. Three things commendable in a man:—1, To think well; 2, To speak well; and 3, To act well. Three things a man should consider:—1, Whence he came; 2, Where he is; and 3, Where he is to go. There are three falsehoods:—1, Falsehood of speaking; 2, Falsehood of not speaking; 3, Falsehood of behaviour or action. There are three most precious things for man:—1, Health; 2, Freedom; and 3, Righteousness. The three springs of wisdom:—1, Understanding; 2, Reflection; and 3, Instruction. The three great drunkards of the island of Britain:—1, Geraint the drunkard, King of Siluria, who in a fit of intoxication set fire to the ripe corn of his kingdom; 2, Gwrteyrn Gwrthenau (Vortigern), who, in his drunken revelry, made over to Horsa, the Saxon, for his daughter Ronwen (Rowena), the isle of Thanet; and 3, Seithenin, who, in his intoxication, let in the sea through the flood gates over the Lowland Hundred (Cardigan Bay). LAW TRIADS:—There are three law-weapons:—1, A sword; 2, A spear; and 3, A bow with twelve arrows. Three persons to whom the king should allow an advocate:—1, A woman; 2, A foreigner; and 3, A dumb man. Three kinds of milk of no worth:—1, Cats' milk; 2, Hounds' milk; and 3, Mares' milk. Three things for a judge's consideration:—1, The

plaint; 2, The answer; 3, The sentence. Three trees may be freely cut in the king's wood:—1, A tree for a church; 2, A tree for a spear for the king's service; and 3, A tree for a bier. Three excuses for non-appearance to a summons:—1, Blowing of the trumpet for war; 2, A flooded river without bridge or ferry; and 3, Bed sickness. BARDIC TRIADS:—Three memorials of the island of Britain:—1, The memorial of tradition; 2, The memorial of song; and 3, The memorial of writing.* The three primary necessaries for a poetical genius:—1, An eye to see nature; 2, A heart to feel nature; and 3, Boldness to follow nature. The three tokens of the good of an art: 1, Its reception by the world; 2, Its power in improving the world; and 3, Its excellence in upholding itself. Three things to be done quickly:—1, Avoid a mad dog; 2, Shun a quarrel; and 3, Catch fleas. Three things that prosper in the sun:—1, Bees; 2, Wheat; and 3, Acorns. Three delays on the road: 1, Nuts, or a bush of nuts; 2, A squirrel; and 3, A pretty maid. MEASURES:—3 barleycorns 1 fodfedd (inch); 3 inches 1 palm; 3 palms 1 foot; 3 feet 1 pace; 3 paces 1 leap; 3 leaps 1 grwn. Three foundations of wisdom:—1, Youth to learn; 2, Memory to keep instruction; and 3, Ability to use it.

* In the original, coelbren, tally, or rod carved.

LANGUAGE OF THE BRITONS.

That the language of the Britons was substantially the Welsh of our time, is clear from sundry facts. We have remains of two dialects of the Britons of Lloegr, or England, the Cornish, and the speech of the Britons of the north of England, and they are Welsh forms of speech; and if the Britons of the two ends of England spoke forms of Welsh, we may believe those of the middle were men of the same tongue.

Borlase and others have left word-stores of Cornish, and pieces of Cornish dialogue and verse; but in comparing Cornish, or old British words, with Welsh, we should bear in mind that the spelling of Celtic words was formerly very unsettled, or very different from that of our time, and that we shall be misled if we compare the old and new words by the eye rather than the ear; for if two spellings give the same breath-sounds, the sundry lettering of them is of little weight. The adjective *Mawr* is written *Maur* by an old chronicler. Asser writes *Gueis* for *Gwys;* Nennius gives *Cair* for *Caer*. For the British name of Nottingham, Asser writes *Tiggocobauc*, whereas it would now be written *Ty-gogofawg;* and his name of Exeter, *Cair-wisc*, would now be *Caer-wysg*. Then, again, the spelling

of the Bretonne, of Britany, differs from that of the Welsh, so that to the eye an Armoric word would seem to differ from a Welsh one, which to the ear might be of the same breath-sound. The clipping written in Welsh with *dd* is spelt in Bretonne with z, so that *bardd* and *barz* are the same breath-sound; and, unlike as the Welsh and Bretonne may look to the eyes, it is said that the Bretons and Welsh can talk together with it, and that when a vessel from Morlaix, in Britany, was lying in the Thames, in 1820, and the captain was invited to hear the harpers of the cymreigyddion, and a Welshman said to a Breton after the hearing of a well-played air, "Dyna ganu da." That was well *sung*, the Breton answered. "Na, Dyna chware da; canu a genau; a chware a thelyn." No, that was well *played; canu* for *songs*, and *chware* for the *harp;* so correcting the Welshman's own Welsh. So it seems that some of the writers of word-stores, and pieces of prose and verse in Cornish, employed z for the Welsh clipping of *dd;* and that Cornish, on the tongues of the old Cornishmen was better Welsh than it looks, though even as it has been written it is clearly Welsh. The old song, "Where are you going my pretty maid? Going a-milking, sir, she said!" is a translation of a ditty of the Cornish Britons, as it is given in Jones's Relics of the Bards. The following comparisons of Cornish and

Welsh will show the likeness of the British and Cymraeg :—

Corn.—Pes myllder eus alemma de Penrhyn ?
Wel.—Beth millder oes oddiyma i Penrhyn ?
How many miles are there from hence to Penrhyn ?

Corn.—Sirra, tray kans myllder.
Wel.—Sir, tri cant millder.
Sir, three hundred miles.

Corn.—Bena dew gena why, gwra da,
Wel.—Bydded Duw gan a chwi, gwraig dda.
God be with you, good woman.

Corn.—Blwth vee ew tri egance a pemp.
Wel.—Blwydd vi yw tri ugaint a pump.
My age is three score and five.

Corn.—Mi vee de mor gen cara vee, a pemp dean moy en cock.
Wel.—Mi buais ar y mor gan câr vi, a pump dyn mwy yn cwch
I was at sea with my relation, and five men more in a boat.

Corn.—Gen oll an collan, sirra wheg.
Wel.—Gan oll y calon, sir chweg.
With all my heart, sweet sir.

Another document of the sameness of the Welsh and Lloegrian is the Gododin of Aueurin, a poem written on a battle between the Saxons and northern Britons in the beginning of the sixth century. It is in the speech of the Britons between the Humber and the south of Scotland, and though it is here and

there rather obscure, it is still as much Welsh as Chaucer's works are English, and have been read as Welsh, and translated into English by a Welshman. Another token of the sameness of the language of the old Britons and Welsh is, that many of the names of persons and places given by Roman and Saxon writers, as well as the names of many of our rivers and valleys, and other spots, while they are of no Saxon form or meaning, are forms of Welsh words of clear and fitting signification. As *Avon*, a river; Combe, *cwm*, a valley; *pen*, *mel*, *moel*, a headlike hill; ford, *ffordd*, a way. At *Puncknowle*, is the Britons *ponc* (hillock); at *Creech*, is his *creeg*, crug, crech, or mound; at Shaftesbury, on *Benport* hill, is his *pen porth*, gate-hill, or gate front; and his *porth*, gate, still sounds at Wareham. His *Dwrwys*, deep water still flows at *Durwes-ton* and his *Wy*, water stream, and *Mawddwy*, deep water, still runs in the *Way* and *Medway;* his *Cors*, bog, lies low, though it may be drained, and *Corscombe* and *Corsley*, and his *stean*, tin, is found at the *Stannery;* and, lastly, we have in English, many words which, as they are not found in other Teutonic tongues, and are yet Welsh, must have been taken from the Britons by the Saxons. Alarm, alarm; board, bwrdd; barrel, baril; basket, basged; boast, bostio; compass, cwmpas; cot, cot; carry, cario; cock (boat), cwch; crowd (fiddle), crwth; crag, craig;

dad, father—tad; pear, pêr; port, porth; mead, medd; mock, mocio; to pall, pall; park, parc; summer (beam-prop), swmer; tassel, tasel; task, tasg.

The Welsh or British language is a clear speech, with a great readiness for rhyme, and a touching melody in poetry. It abounds with clippings of *n*, and of *dd*, our *th* in *thee;* and with a peculiar one, the aspirated *ll*, and the gutteral *ch*, which in loud talk, is not very agreeable. Unlike the Teutonic languages, which mostly hold the accent on the root, as in man, mánful, mánliness, the Welsh usually brings on the accent to the penultimate. The Welsh has holden its form far more permanently than the English, as the laws of Howel Dda, which were compiled in the tenth century, are in a language still understood by Welsh ears, while the writings of our King Alfred are, to untaught Englishmen, in an unknown tongue.

Welsh is spoken by about five millions of people, and has some score of periodicals. Many utilitarians think that Welsh ought to be checked as a hindrance to trade and free communion of thought. I believe the English have heretofore tried to thrust English too hastily on the Welsh, since Englishmen have holden livings among Welsh-speaking populations, and, in opposition to our church articles, have offered them the ministration

of the Word in an unknown tongue. Hence many have left the church, and withdrawn to Welsh services in chapels of their own. Wherever the Welsh go in bodies they establish Welsh schools, and chapels for Welsh services. There are several chapels for Welsh service in Manchester and Liverpool, and, I believe, one at least among the Welsh of the iron works, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Airdrie in Lanarkshire.

The death of a language, which is nothing less than the quenching the free life of a race of mankind, is a great, and one can feel, a sad, event. We, the English or Anglo-Saxon race are now, as the Celtic race have been, mighty on the earth; and who would think that the off-dying or outquenching for ever of our race and speech from the world, would be other than a sad event; and an event great in proportion to the work which we may have wrought among men. Let us fancy that English has been displaced in these islands by the tongue of an on-coming race; and that, even the English empires in Australia and New Zealand, have risen and outspent their life of thousands of years; and that the only speakers of English are at last an old man and his wife, who cherish the tongue of their forefathers, while all their younger neighbours speak the language of the dominant race. The wife dies, and the old man himself at

length breathes his last prayer in the words, "Lord have mercy upon me," and with those words, English dies for ever on the lips of her last son. So died Cornish on the lips of Dolly Pentraeth; and so, in a run of years, will the Manx language cease; and so, in time, may Welsh breathe its last in the lovely valleys of Cymru.

NAMES OF THE CYMRY AND BRITONS.

The names of the early Cymry and Britons were significant in their own language, and taken from qualities of body and mind, offices, animals, places, and sundry other things. From *Budd*, gain, win; *Buddyg*, the victorious, name of *Boadicea*. From *Ban*, *Fan*, high, lofty, noble, a horn; *Bleiddfan*, noble wolf, as Ethelwolf in Saxon; *Buddfan*, noble winner, as Ethelwin. *Cad*, fight; Cadfan, battle horn; Cadwgan, our Cadogan. Cunobelinus is the Latin form of *Cynfelyn* (Cunvelyn), the name of a British king, the *Cymbeline* of Shakspeare's drama, who held sway in Britain in the time of Claudius Cæsar. The element *Cyn* in the name *Cynfelyn* means fore, or excellent, or head, or a head, and is not unfrequently the stem of British names; and *Cynfelyn* is most likely yellow-head or the golden-haired. So Cynddelw, foreform, or prototype;

Cynddylon, forewarner; Cyndaf, excellent blessing; Cynfael, head-gain; Cyndrwyn, fine nose. *Gwas*, a lad, servant; Melwas, yellow (haired) lad; Gwynwas, fair lad. *Gwr*, man, is an element of men's names, and especially of kings, since the king is sometimes called *y gwr*, the man, by excellence. Gwrfelyn, yellowman; Gwrteyrn, ruling man, *Vortigern* of our history; Gwrthefyr, the Gortipor of our books. *Mael vael*, armour, win; Cadfael, battle-mail; Brocfael, dinstriver; Maelgwn, armourer; Cynfael, head winner. *Teyrn*, ruler; Cynteyrn, head ruler, the Kentigern of our history; Caswallon, foe-scatterer, the Cassivelaunus of the Romans. From *tal*, front, comes *Taliesin*, fair front; *Talhaiarn*, iron front, brave, as our Edmund Ironsides. Names from the body: *Bronwen*, fair bosom, a woman's name; *Melyngan*, fair, yellow. From the mind: *Llworgar*, humane; *Afarwy*, sadness, or stream of sorrow, tears (afar-gwy); *Medrawd*, skilful; *Rhys* (now *Rees*), ardency, ardent; *Rheged*, bountiful; *Iorworth*, precious. So it is a saying that "by *tre*, *pol*, and *pen*, you may know Cornish men," as in the Cornwall British, *tre* is a village, *pol*, a pool or lake, and *pen*, a headland, or hill. From animals: *Bran*, crow; *Bleiddyd*, wolf; *Bladud*, the founder of Bath; *Bleiddyn*, young wolf; *Marchlu*, horseman; *Cynvarch*, horsechief. Places: *Morgan*, Morganawg, maritime, seaman, thence Pelagius,

the heresiarch, whose British name was Morgan or Morganwg; *Mynydawg*, mountaineer; *Llyr*, King *Lear*, strand or shore; Owain Gwynedd, Owen of North Wales; Owain Glyndwr, Owen of the water glen, Owen Glendor. Kings: *Cæog*, wreath wearer; *Ffamddwyn*, flame bearer; *Nudd*, mist; *Pel*, ball.

The distinctive use of our surnames was often answered among the old Cymry by patronymics, or father's names, as it was among the Hebrews and Greeks, as *Ifor ap Cynan*, Ifor son of Cynan; or, if there were two *Ifors* with fathers of the name of *Cynan*, they might be distinguished by their grandfather's, as one might be *Ifor ap Cynan ap Gruffudd*, and the other *Ifor ap Cynan ap Caradog*. Not unfrequently, however, men were distinguished by nicknames, like the Roman cognomen, as Caradawg Vreichvras, Caradawg brawny arm, the Caractacus of history; Bran Galed, Bran the hardy; Morgan Mwynvawr, Morgan the courteous; Gwyddno Garanhir, Gwyddno Longshanks; Rhydderch Isgolhaig, Rhydderch the Scholar, Beauclerc; Tegau Eurvron, Tegau Goldenbosom, a woman's name; Edeyrn Davod aur, Edeyrn the Golden tongue; Dafydd Hir, David the Tall. In later times, *ap* melted into the father name, and made some modern Welsh names, Ap-Richard, Prichard; Ap-Robert, Probert; Ap-Rhys, Price.

LITERATURE OF THE WELSH AND BRITONS.

There are records of nearly fifty bards and scholars in the first thousand years of our era, and more than seventy in the following six hundred years. Some of them are prince bards, and others earned names which bespeak their excellence, as *Taliesin, Ben Beirdd*—Taliesin, chief of bards; *Cynddelw, Brydydd mawr*—Cyndelw, the great poet. And of some, the works are still in the body of British or Welsh literature.

The Triads of the Island of Britain bear events or traditions of some length of time, as from the third or fourth to the seventh century. Myrddin ap Emrys, the Merlin of our history, was a prophet bard in the time of the incoming of the Saxons, and therefore of Gwrteyrn or Vortigern, by whom he was made king or viceroy of South Wales. Myrddin ap Morvryn, a bard of the sixth century, has left some pieces, among which is "Yr Avallenau," or *Orchard*, written on receiving the gift of one from Gwenddolau ab Ceidio. The Gododin is a poem by Aneurin, on the battle fought at Cattraeth by the Britons of Deira and Bernicia, with the Saxons in the sixth century, when more than three hundred eurdorchogion, or golden wreathed nobles were

slain. There are poems of Taliesin, who strung his harp under the favour of King Maelgwn, in the sixth century. Some poems of Llywarch Hen, or Llwarch the Old, who is said to have spent some early years of his life of 150 years at the court of King Arthur. He was of noble birth, and lost several sons in the wars with the Saxons.

The Englynion y Beddau, or memorials of the tombs of the warriors, are written in the ancient Bardic metre called *Hên ganiad*, old song, or *Tríban milwr*, warriors triplet, and record the graves and fame of about two hundred heroes. Fragments of song by Howel, son of Owen Gwynedd, David Benvras, Gwalchmai, about A.D. 1150, and Gruffydd, A.D. 1282. Laws of Howel Dda and others, the full code of Welsh laws as they were compiled under Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, from earlier British laws as well as from enactments of his own reign. They are very exact, and of very great service to the British antiquary, as they show most clearly the state of civilization and form of life in which the Cymry were living in the tenth century.

The middle age of Welsh poetry, when it was at its height, was from A.D. 1100, to A.D. 1500, the time of our Chaucer, who was born A.D. 1328; and Wales had more than sixty divine bards or writers of godly poesy before the Reformation. Among the bards of those times were Gwalchmai, of Mona,

from 1150 to 1190. He followed Richard Cœur de Lion to the Holy Wars, and was a poet of the crimson string of war. Elidir Sais (Elidir the Saxon), who was much in England in the time of Llywellyn, at the end of the 12th century; his works are mostly on divine subjects. Gwilym Ddu, A.D. 1322, and Dafydd Ddu, A.D. 1340. The latter is said to have foretold the railway between Chester and Holyhead. His prophecy has been translated:—

"I'll rise and dress myself in Mona's isle,
Then in Cærlleon breakfast for awhile;
In Erin's land my noontide meal I'll eat,
Return and sup by Mona's fire of peat."

Dafydd Gwilym was born at Llanbadarn Fawr (Cardigan). He is called the Welsh Petrarch, as his theme is the lovely Morfydd, whom he lost by her marriage with a rich old rival. He wrote on Morfydd 140 odes of great sweetness in language and feeling. Among later bards was Evan Evans (Ifan Brydydd Hir), curate of Llanfair Talhaiarn for some time, till the year 1765, and he had for his clerk another versewright, Robert Thomas, who was a Latin and Greek scholar, though he had his books hung by a rope to the roof-beam, *nenbren*. Dafydd Sion Piers was another poor bard, who wrote an ode to the stars, which he saw one night through a hole in his roof.

The Mabinogion, or child-tales, or romances, are

tales of a high order of fancy, affording a good insight into the minds and folk-lore, as well as the social life, of the old Welsh: some believe that they were the source of romances in Europe, and in the form in which they are come down to our time they must have been written about the 12th or 13th century, as is shown by their forms of warfare, and their weapons. Some, if not all, of the Mabinogion have been translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest. Many of them have been preserved in the Llyfr Côch o' Hergest, the Red Book of Hergest, a mansion in the parish of Kington, Hereford, though it is now in Jesus College, Oxford.

The Welsh language is rich in proverbs; "Plant gwirionedd iw hen ddiarhebion," (Children of truth are old proverbs), says a Welsh proverb. Saint Catwg or Cadog, of Llancarvan, collected the British proverbs in a body, which was thence called the Wisdom of Catwg. The collection was increased by Cyrys, of Ial, in the eleventh century, and again by Sypin Cyveiliawg in the fifteenth. More than ten thousand proverbs are still in British books or on the Welsh tongue. Catwg was believed to have been one of the counsellors of King Arthur. A Welsh grammar of Edyrn, the Golden-tongue, compiled and allowed by a Welsh national board of language in the thirteenth century. Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth, or Rules of Bardic Poetry, by Dafydd

Ddu Athraw, in the 14th century. Drych y Prif Oesoedd, Mirror of the Early Ages, a history of the Britons compiled about the year 1716. Y Ffydd Ddiffuant, or History of the Christian Church, compiled in 1677.

Dr. Malkin (in his Tour, 1807) says, "though there are accounted to be about two thousand books in the Welsh language, there are none of immoral tendencies, none that propagate principles of infidelity." There may be in print works of about three hundred writers, though some of their writings are of little weight. In the Cornish language there are Borlase's Vocabulary; Jordan's Creation of the World, with Noah's flood, two Church Dramas, or miracle plays, *chware mirkl;* Pryce's Grammar and Vocabulary of the Ancient Cornish Language; a Cornish Song, given in Jones's Relics of the Bards; and pieces of dialogue in other works.

The question of the authenticity of some Welsh works of history and poetry, is still an open one; but while the accounts given by Greek or Latin writers, of the Bards, or of the Britons, tally in the main with one another, they are not thwarted by the British language in her form, writings, or names; and oneness of evidence is one token of truth. If Greeks or Romans tell us there were bards, the word *bardd* is owned by Welsh, Armoric, and Irish. If they say there were *Druides*, the word

Derwydd or Druw is old in Welsh and South British (Cornish), and is yet holden in old names of places, such as Stanton Drew, Tre'r Druw, Maen y Druw.

If the Saxons wrote that the Angles came in three *ceols*, Gildas tells his readers that they came "in three *cyals*, as they call them;" and if the Saxons write that they were called in by King Vortigern, the Welsh declare that they were brought by *Gurthrigern*, or *Gwrteyrn*, which is, in Welsh, a significant and likely name of a king. If Greeks and Romans tell us there were *Ovates* or *Eubates*, the British name of their order, *Ofydd* (Ovuth), answers both to *Ovates*, and to *Eubates*, or *Evvates*, as the word would be pronounced by a Greek.

If the Welsh believe that some of their Triads are very old, they answer in form to some that had reached Roman and Greek writers. There are not known, it is true, any manuscripts of the works of the early British bards, such as Aneurin or Taliesin, by a hand of so early a time as that of the bard himself; but it does not follow that since the oldest codex of a bard's works may be of the twelfth century, it was the time at which he lived or wrote, unless we can make good a major proposition, that no composition is older than its oldest known manuscript, with which we should lose the histories of Herodotus, and Livy, and the works of the Greek and Roman poets, and even the Bible itself.

The Britons came early into the Christian church, and with a church planted among them, there would be catechumens; with catechumens, there would be teaching; and with that, they would have schools; and with schools, books.

In an old Welsh poem "Mic Dinbych" (The Glory of Tenby), which has been referred to the twelfth or thirteenth century, the bard sings:—

"Isgrifen Brydain brydor brifwn."

"The writings of Britain are my chief care."

Showing there were then known to him British writings of great worth. Bale in his Commentaries on Leland, says that "among other books which were destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries, there were moste worthy monuments concerning antiquity, of several British writers;" and it is not unlikely that many British manuscripts went the way of two noble libraries which were known by Bale to have been consumed by a merchantman, on his wares, instead of gray paper.

Cæsar imputes to the bards of his time the common use of tongue-tradition, in the ongiving of bardic compositions, and an old Welsh bard claims a knowledge of nine hundred songs; and Nennius, the British historian, gives as the source of some of his history, the ancient *traditions* of his people or forefathers. A writer on the Tarentella dance of Naples, says of the songs which are sung by the

dancers, that most of them are very old, and but few have been written, or transmitted otherwise than by tongue.

The five books of poetry by Davydd Dhu Athraw in the fourteenth century, declare that Taliesin formed the five best metres, and that ten others were formed by later bards. Taliesin's metres were those called Toddaid, Gwawdodyn byrr, Kyhydedd hir, Kyhydedd verr, Hupunt byrr; and by some they are called the five chairs of vocal song; and it it is clear that Taliesin wrote before any poets in whose works these metres, or the ten later ones, are found.

Merddin, Llywarch Hen, and Aneurin, speak of the *torch* as the badge or ornament of the nobles of their time. In the laws of Howel Dda, every kind of body-gear is named for its law worth; a girdle, a small-ring, an arm-ring, jewels, a comb, a sword, a shield, a robe, and shoes and boots, and yet the torch is unknown to the law, and therefore it seems to have been given up as a badge of nobility. This affords a presumption that bards who wrote of the golden torch as body-gear of their time, wrote before the tenth century, though it is true that Cynddelw, in the twelfth century, uses the word *eurdorchogion*, with *Derwydon*, very likely only by traditional meaning for noble and sage, and it is said in the twelfth century, that there was a Lord

who wore a golden torch, but his torch seems then to have been markworthy, as it gave him a nickname, aurdorchog, or golden wreath.

POETRY OF THE BRITONS AND WELSH.

Bardship was a national school of poetry and music, with divinity and science, and one may readily believe that if the finest minds of the nation were trained and worked in the art for hundreds of years, they, at least, brought it to some kind of excellence. The richness of the British language, and its readiness for rhyme, helped the bards to a great refinement of verse, and in the golden age of British poetry in Wales, from the time of Gryffydd ap Conan, who ordained the Eisteddvodau in 1100, to the thirteenth century, a Welshman's praise of Welsh poetry was almost true:—

"Ni phrovais dan ffurfafen
Gwe mor gaeth a'r Gymraeg wen."

"Than Cambrian verse, below the sun
No web of song is finer spun."

A Triad says the three truths of song are—1, True fancy; 2, True arrangement; and 3, True metre. And another:—The elements of song are —1, Speech; 2, Fancy; and 3, Metre. It is thought that one main kind of the old bardic verse

among the Britons was that called the *Hen Ganiad*, old song, or *Triban milwr*, warrior's triplet, a verse of three lines, all of one endrhyme. It is the verse of the Englynion y Beddau, or verses of the graves, memorials of old British worthies :—

" Piau y bedd y Llethr y Bryn ?
Llawer ni's gwyr, ai gofyn ;
Bedd i Coel, mab Cynfelyn."

" Whose the grave on Llethr y Bryn ?
Few know who or whose dear son ;
Coel the son of Cynfelyn."

There are three kinds of Englyn with alternate rhyme, and of another species of verse, called *awdlau*, there are five metres employed by Taliesin, the head of the bards in the sixth century; four more were brought in by Cynddelw, the great bard of the twelfth century; another was soon after taken up by Einion; and two others were formed by Davydd ap Edmwnd, in the fifteenth century. His two metres are the bards' feat, *Gorchest y Beirdd*, and the *Tawddgyrch Cadwynog*—the soft recurrent chain-rhyme. All these forms of verse have pretty variations of measure and rhyme.

The Englyn is the epigram of the Welsh bards, who will write Englyniom on any striking object or incident, as a new house, a bridge, a dog, a horse, a broken-down cart wheel, or even a swollen face. An Englyn of the form called the Unodl Cyrch, or one-rhyme recurrent :—

"Of ev'ry wrongful word and *deed*
Some evil is at last the *meed*,
And who can tell of whose kind *hand*
He yet may *stand* in sorest *need*."

There are three other forms of the one-rhyme Englyn.

The bards' feat is a stanza of six lines; the second and fourth syllables of each three are of one rhyme, and the third rhymes with the sixth. The following gorchest is only a pattern of the Welsh verse; it is not given as affording any instance of the bardic awen (poetic spirit):—

"The day is bright,
The May is white,
The hay is light, but woe is me;
The dead will keep
Their bed so deep,
With head asleep, below the tree."

The soft recurrent chain-rhyme, Cadwynodl:—

In swelt'ring *day*, with sky SERENE,
When woods are GREEN, in flow'ry *May*;
O let me *stray* through lanes BETWEEN
High trees that SCREEN my airy *way*."

We are not led back by the oldest Welsh poetry to any time when it was not tuned by end-rhyme, and, therefore, we believe that modern nations, with whom the ornament is now so common, owe it to the bards. Cymmeriad, or Resumption, and Cynghannedd, are ornaments of Welsh verse. They are

skillful kinds of clipping rhyme or alliteration, and Bardic cynghanedd has never been taken up by the versewrights of any language but the Celtic, nor is English of a form pure enough to receive it in its fullness. As a token of the exactness of old Welsh verse, the grammar of Edeyrn, in the fourteenth century, which gives all the metres and rules of cynghanned, contains more than sixty Triads of song which are canons of the art. Of Onomatopeia there is a most clever instance in the following englyn on a kiss. The very lips of the reader, by the recurrence of the *v*, seem to be sipping nectar:—

"Sippias vêdd, gwiwvedd gyvion, go vaswedd,
Gwevusau melysion!
Duw a vwriodd diverion,
Mêl-gavod, hyd davod hon."

Which has been rather freely translated:—

"From lips delicious in their bloom,
Rich mead I sipp'd that breath'd perfume,
An' kindling rapture drew;
For Heav'n hath on my fair one's lip,
Which e'en the bee may love to sip,
Distill'd ambrosial dew."

The bards held poetry *(prydyddiaeth)* as a high art, and did not bestow its name on every kind of verse. There were three branches of vocal song, *Cerdd Dafawd*, tongue music, as they called verse: 1, *Clerwriaeth*, minstrelsy; 2, *Teuluwriaeth*, home-

song; and 3, *Prydyddiaeth*, poetry. It was the province of the poet to commend, celebrate, bestow praise, and joy, and glory. "A poet ought not to concern himself with *clerwriaeth*, since it belongs to a minstrel to satirize, depreciate, shame and reproach." Thence they made the business of poetry to be only the good and beautiful; and obscene songs, and coarse satires, with their ribaldry and profaneness, were not ranked with poety, nor allowed to the poet, but left to the *Clerwr*, or minstrel. What lack of refinement is shown in the British mind by these facts? With us a work is too often rated by its sale rather than its high aim.

Among the canons of poetry in the work of Edeyrn, is the following:—"The spiritual powers belonging to a poet are obedience, habitual generosity, chastity, spiritual love, moderation in meat and drink, mildness, and godly diligence. These are contrary to the seven deadly sins, namely: pride, haughty malice, covetousness, fornication, luxury, anger, and sloth, which corrupt the genius of poetry, and blunt the senses."

TRIBES OF THE BRITONS.

Some writers talk as if the sundry states or tribes of the Britons were men of different blood, or offsprings of different Celtic stocks; whereas many of their tribe names were clearly local epithets, like our words *hillmen*, *valemen*, *islanders*, or *fenmen;* and as a man in South Dorset, when he tells one that there were many *valemen* at a county gathering at Dorchester, takes the valemen all the while to be as much Englishmen as the hillmen; so neither does it follow that the *Cantii* and *Brigantes* were not all equally Britons of the same blood and speech, for *Caint*, in British, is a plain, and *Y Caintwyr*, which the Saxons made *Centwara*, means only men of the plain; and *Brig* is a highland, and a *Brigant*, whence we have the Latin *Brigantes*, and *Brigand*, a mountain robber, is a highlander. So the *Allobroges* are foreigners, *All-fro-awg*, men of another land *(All-bro);* and Richard of Cirencester says, very understandingly, of the *Belgæ*, that all the Belgæ are *Allobroges* or foreigners. The Damnonii of Devonshire were the men of *Dyvnaint*, the plural of *Dyvn*, the hollows or dells; and from *Dyvn*, we have Devon; and *Bernicia* was in British *Brynaich*, the uplands, from *Bryn*, a hill; while the

Ordovices were the men of *Ar Dwyv*, on the *Dwyv*, or river Dee.

The *Durotriges* we may suppose were dwellers by the water, *Dwr-trigiawdwyr;* and thence, as Richard of Cirencester, a Briton, says, they were sometimes called *Morini* (from *Mor*, the Sea). He says their capital was Durinum (from *Dwr*, water), which has been taken for Maiden Castle; though I am becoming more and more convinced that Wareham was the Durinum, the capital of the Durotriges. A lane or street leading out of Dorchester, to the old Wareham road, is yet called *Durn* lane, or *Durngate* street, and Dwrn-street, or Durn-gate, would mean the street or lane leading to *Durn*, as the Bridport or Weymouth road is the road leading to Bridport or Weymouth. So Asser says Wareham is between the two rivers Fraun and Trent, in the district called in British *Durn-gueis*, Dwrn-gwys, but in Saxon Thorn-sætta, or, as it is called by another Saxon writer, Dorn-satta, or Dor-sætta, now Dorset. The British for water is *Dwr*, not Dwrn; and I have long been puzzled with the *n* of Durn, for we cannot get rid of it, as it meets us in *Durn*-lane, *Durn*-gate-street, in Richard of Cirencester's *Durinum*, in the Roman *Durnovaria*, in Asser's *Durnguels*, and in the Saxon Thornsætta and Dornsætta. All, however, seems pretty clear, if we take it that Wareham was the capital of the Durotriges, and

that, as the Bretons of France call the bay or inlet of Vannes, *Morbihan*, "Little Sea," so the Durotriges called the inlet of Poole Harbour, *Dwrin*, the "Little Water," or "Little Sea;" or *Morin*, the "Little Sea:" and that then their bay gave its name to the town, and the capital gave its name to the district, a case of which we find instances in most times and places, from the state of Athens to that of New York. The Britons may have called the state or district *Dwrin-gwys*, the Little-water-shire, as the Saxons call it *Dornsættas*, now Dorset. The authority for *Dwrin* the diminutive by *in* of *Dwr*, is found in the grammar of "Edeyrn, the Golden-tongued," lately printed by the Welsh MSS. Society. This theory does not forbid the fact that the Roman station *Durnovaria* was Dorchester, since the Britons might call the men of the whole district *Dwrin-wyr*, Dwrin-men, and *Dwrin-wyr* might have become the Roman *Durnovaria*, as the place of some tribe of the *Dwrin-wyr*, or Dorset-men.

If we take Wareham to have been the capital of the Durotriges, we can understand why it was so early a place of great name among the Saxons; and why the walls or earthworks of Wareham should betoken British handywork in their form, and need not be imputed to the Saxons, who were not builders of earthern ramparts. No one can take the monu-

mental Welsh alphabet, collected from Welsh crosses and tombs of about the sixth century, as it is given in the grammar of Edeyrn, the Golden-tongued, and compare it with the incised stone which was found in the old church at Wareham, and is now placed in the wall of its not over-worthy successor, without taking the Wareham inscription to be a British one of about the time of the monumental alphabet.

Maiden Castle I believe to have been an antiquity, even in Roman times. I fairly own that I have till very lately taken up as an established truth, the old tale that Maiden Castle was the capital of the Durotriges at the incoming of the Romans, but it will not stand, like Wareham, with the statements of all the old writers. Maiden Castle is not by water; and Richard of Cirencester says the land of the Durotriges reached (westward) as far, and only as far, as Vindelia (Gwyn-dylan, Fair Sea?) which is taken to be Portland; but a line drawn northward from Portland would hardly take in Maiden Castle; and it is not very likely that the Morini would have their capital on the very edge of their state or even out of it.

WAREHAM AND DURN GUEIS.

I may add to my former notes, in which I have taken Wareham for the capital of the Durotriges, that in Asser's name of Dorset, *Durn-gueis*, the word *gueis*, as he spells it, would answer two Welsh words in modern spelling, *Gŵys*, deep, and *Gwys*, a district or shire; but, as he says that the district was called *Durn-gueis*, and that the Saxons called it *Thorn-sætta*, and *Sætta* is a word of like meaning as gwys, it is to be taken in the sense of *gwys*, a district or shire. If Asser is right—and, as he was a Briton, what Saxon is to gainsay him?—he shows us that the Britons had districts or shires answering in some way to our shires, and that the language of the Britons of Dorset was substantially the same as that of the Welsh and Celtic Cornish.

It has been thought that the Durotriges were so called as living by the channel or sea on the shore of Dorset; but as the Britons of Sussex, or Devon, or any other sea-bound shire were also *Durotriges*, the name as that of the whole sea-bound district does not seem distinctive enough for the case; whereas the naming of a town from its bay or river, and a state or shire from its capital, is known in our own day, and seems to me to have taken place in other districts of old Britain: for I take it that the

Southampton water was called by some such name as *Antôn*, which, if *an* were the negative affix, would mean the waveless water, or, if *an* were the Lloegr article, it would mean the wave or tide water. The name of *Poole* was clearly bestowed from its water, and the Saxon name of *Wareham*, from *waer*, a fishwear, seems to betoken a fishing place on Poole Harbour, or the mouth of the Fromé.

Maiden Castle never seems to have been named at all by Saxon writers, and therefore not as an abode of a large British population; and whereas they always, I believe, called the Roman stations *ceaster*, (our ending *chester,)* from the Latin *castra*, they did not call *Wareham* by any name that betokened the place of a Roman camp; and so they seem to have known that the walls of Wareham were a British, and not a Roman work: and the Saxon writers make Wareham to be holden in their time by the Saxons, and attacked by the Danes, as the head or outlet of a considerable population. Ethelwerd, the Saxon writer, tells us that when the pious king Bertric was ruling over Wessex, and the harmless people were spread over the plains, yoking their oxen to the plough, suddenly there arrived on the shore a fleet of Danes, not large, but of only three ships. When this became known, the ealdorman, or sheriff, whose name was Beadherd, and who

was dwelling at the town of Dorchester, leapt on his horse, and rode, with a few men, to the haven —(Wareham ?), thinking that they were merchants rather than foes, and bade them go to the king's city—(Winchester ?), but he was slain on the spot. This was their first arrival. The Saxon Chronicle makes this incident to have taken place in the year 787:—"In his [Bertric's] days, first came three ships of Northmen, out of Heretha-land, and then the reve rode to the place—[Wareham ?], and would have driven them to the King's town—[Winchester ?], because he knew not who they were; and they there slew him. These were the first ships of Danishmen which sought the land of the English nation."

From these two accounts, which tally one with the other, we learn pretty clearly that the inroad of the Danes was upon Wareham; a token of its high standing in the west, if not among all the towns of England. It may be answered, "Aye, but the Ealdorman or Reeve (now Sheriff, Scir-gerefa) lived at Dorchester; and, therefore, Dorchester was the Saxon capital of the shire." Be it so. I believe *Durnovaria* was the head station of the Romans among the *Dwrin-wyr*, or people of *Dwrin-gwys*, and that Wareham was the British capital of the *Dwrin-wyr*. The Saxons might have taken Dorchester as their law town, while Wareham was

yet their main haven. In 876, the north Danish army at Cambridge came down into Dorset, and joined the western one at Wareham. The Saxon Chronicle says, "Stole away to Wareham, a fortress of the Saxons," and plundered most of the neighbourhood. Asser says they came to Wareham, where there is a monastery of holy maidens, between the rivers *Fraun* and *Trent*, in the district which is called *Durngueis*, but in Saxon, *Thornsæta*, placed in a very safe situation, only that it was exposed to danger on the western side from the form of the ground. Alfred made a treaty with them, and they swore, by their bracelets or rings, to leave the kingdom, but went on to Exeter, or, as the Saxon Chronicle says, "Came to Exeter, from Wareham;" or, in another place, "That those that were horsed, stole away by night from Wareham to Exeter;" for Asser tells us that some went on horseback and some by water, and that 120 ships of the saefarers were wrecked at Swanwich.

In 982, Wulfwina, an abbess of Wareham, died, as did Herelufa, abbess of Shaftesbury. In 998, says the Saxon Chronicle, "The Danes went again eastward into Frome-mouth, and everywhere they went up as far as they would into Dorset." In 1013, Canute came down from Kent to the mouth of the Frome, and plundered in Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, and afterwards the Saxons fought a

drawn battle with him at Penn, near Gillingham, though I rather think it was at Pen Domer, near the Parrett.

Of Maiden Castle we read nothing from the pen of Saxon or Roman. That it was a fortress of a British people, like the other hill earthworks of the county, I believe. That it was *Durinum*, I have yet to learn.

WHO WERE THE ANCIENT GERMANI OR GERMANS, AS DISTINCT FROM THE CELTS?

Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Latin authors, speak much of the *Germani*, as a Teutonic people, but the Teutonic nation that we now know as Germans, call themselves *Deutsch*; and there are but slight grounds for believing that they ever called themselves *German*, or that *Germani* is a Teutonic word.

Who then first bestowed the name of *Germani* on the tribes of Germany, or of the banks of the Rhine? We say the *Gauls*, or a Celtic people; since the words *German* and *Allman*, or *Allemanni*, another name for Germans, are Celtic words. In Welsh, *All-man* and *Alltud* is an outlander, foreigner, or stranger; a man of *(all)* another *(man)* place, or a man of *(all)* another *(tud)* district, or region;

and *Ger-man* is a man of *(Ger)* near *(man)* place, or a neighbour; and so I conclude that the Gauls called some near tribe by the banks of the Rhine *German*, and more remote ones *Allman;* but whether those tribes were of Teutonic or Celtic blood, the names cannot show us; albeit *German*, though not *Allman*, in the mouth of a Celt, would be as likely to mean a Celt as a Teuton.

Tacitus says that the name of German was only lately bestowed, though some Teutonic tribes beyond the Rhine were called *Germani* in Cæsar's time; and he writes that the tribe that came over the Rhine and drove out the Gauls was called Germani, so that it seems as if the Gauls had called the Teutonic tribes nearest to them over the Rhine, *German*, or neighbours, as we talk of our neighbours the French. Then Tacitus tells us that the name Germani, which was at first that of a tribe, and not of a race, gained ground by little and little, till they were all called Germans, by a name found and chosen at first by the conqueror, for the sake of smiting foes with fear, and then by themselves; a passage of no very clear meaning. If he means that all the Gauls who were driven out of Gaul by the Tungri, were called Germans, he does not tell us how the men of the great Teutonic land beyond the Rhine were called Germani; nor is it easy to understand how the name of *Germani* could be

invented or chosen by the conquerors for the sake of fear, unless it had already been that of a tribe that were feared by the Gauls; since if we hear for the first time the name of a tribe of whom we know nothing, good or bad, it does not strike us either with fear or hope; and if the name Germani frightened the Gauls, it was not thenceforth one which they could hear with complacency; and yet Tacitus writes that they willingly chose it for themselves. If, on the other hand, he means that the Teutonic tribes beyond the Rhine were, by little and little, called Germani, then we cannot well understand who were the conquerers from whom they received their name. It is very likely the Celtic name German was bestowed more and more widely over the Teutonic tribe beyond the Rhine, if not to the mixed people within it. But the French of our day, true to the language of their predecessors, if not forefathers, call our Germans beyond the Rhine *Allemand; Allman, Elmyn*, foreigners; and their land, *Allemagne, Allemania.*

The Teutonic tribe that was first called Alemanni, seem to have been the *Suabians* or *Suevi*, who are said to have come down from Northern Germany to the borders of Roman Gaul, by the Rhine, in the third century; and thence were called by the Celtic subjects of Rome the outlanders, foreigners, or strangers, in distinguishing of them from the neigh-

bours, the *Germans*. Allman, *Allemanni*, a name of the Germans, has been taken, however, as a German word, showing that the Germans had so high an opinion of themselves, as to call themselves *All men*, though the truth is, that the Germans (Deutsch) do not, and never did, call themselves *All men*, or Germans. Some think, again, that the Germans are so called from the root of *guerre*, war, as being warmen, which is not a very good distinctive name, as the Gauls and other nations have been pretty constant votaries of Mars; and we are told by others that the Romans, seeing the Germans so much like the Gauls—not themselves—called them brothers, *Germani*, to the Gauls, which would be as if we English should call the Bretons our brothers, because they are so much like the Welsh.

So Frankfort, or Frankfurht, *quasi* Frankford, has been taken as a proof that the word Ford, as in Stafford or Blandford, is Teutonic; but I should rather take it as a token that it is Celtic. If a family of Jacksons had made and used exclusively a little bridge over a stream, they would not themselves be likely to call it "Jackson's bridge;" they might call it "our bridge," or "the bridge," though it might be called "Jackson's bridge," by their neighbours, the Wilsons; and so I conceive that Frankfort, "Frankfordd," the Frank's Way, was a name bestowed by the Celts of Gaul.

From all we know of the old Germans, we may conclude that they were, in the main, true members of the hardy beer-brewing Teutonic race. An old writer says of the Germans:—

"Germani possunt cunctos tolerare labores,
O! utinam possint tam bene ferre situm!"

Which has been translated—

"Germans themselves unto all works inure,
O! would they thirst could half so well endure!"

NAMES OF PLACES.—SLIPS OF ETYMOLOGY.

All names bestowed on streams and places by Britons or Saxons were, on some ground or another, fitting ones; and if they marked any quality of the stream, hill, or place, the quality was a true and clear one, and such an one as the mind of man would naturally be ready to mark by a name.

With a seeming forgetfulness of the laws of mind and thought, some writers have assumed for the names of places etymologies of a most unlikely kind. Old Heylin, in his Geography, says the *Trent* is "so called for that thirty kind of fishes are found in it." But it would take years to find that a river had thirty, and only thirty, kinds of fish; and therefore, if Heylin be right, the nation

who named the Trent, must have for so long a time known the river without a name, or on finding that it had exactly thirty kinds of fish, must have discarded their former name for *Trent*. What English people would withhold a name for a river in Australia, till they had defined its species of fish, or would give up the name of the Murray or Mississippi for the number Viginti or Triginti, the number of kinds of fish? Some of the old geographers make the name of the Thames, *Thamesis*, to be formed of *Thame* and *Isis;* but what English people in America or Australia would have withholden a name from a great river till they had bestowed names on its branches, and then have blended the names of the branches for that of the confluent water? The *Isis* is more likely to be *Yr Iswy*, the "Inferior water," as the Thames is the *Tafwy*, or *Tamwy*, or *Tafwys*, as it has been written in Welsh, the Broadwater.

It is said of a little island, *Godney*, that it was first taken as an abode by a single man,—a kind of Robinson Crusoe,—and that when he was abroad he was asked how many were the inhabitants of his island, and answered only "God and I," which under the form *Godney* became the name of the place.

Some writer thinks the *Saracens* were so called as *Sara-cens* from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham,

which, if they are Ishmaelites, is an unlucky guess.

There was a funny instance of the mistakes likely to arise with a trying to glean knowledge from a nation without their language, by M. Labillardière, who, when he was in the Tonga Islands, wished to learn if the Tonga men had names for very high numbers; and, upon asking what was the Tonga word for a hundred millions, one of them cried out, *low-noa*, that is, *nonsense* or *gibberish;* which the good man put down as the Tonga word for a hundred millions. This was found afterwards by Mr. Mariner, who was some years in Tonga, and compared the Frenchman's vocabulary with the language.

There is on the Taff Vale Railway a small station at the village of *Trefforest* (Tref-fforest), or the Forest Village. On the arrival of our train, the policeman or porter called out "Tree-forest," as if he took the Welsh *Tre* for the English *Tree;* and I should think it likely that he would be inclined to write *Tree* for *Tre*, as a correction of the spelling. Treehurst in England has most likely been formed by the English mind in the same way from *Tre-hurst*, since it is no distinction of a forest or hurst to call it a *tree* forest or hurst, as all forests and hursts are such.

As I came beside *Portishead*, in going down from

Bristol for Cardiff, a Welshman on board said, "What a funny name *Pen-y-borthiwr*;" translating the name of the place, as he thought, into Welsh, but he mistook *Portishead* for *Porter's head*. "No," said I, "not *Pen-y-borthiwr*, Porter's head, but '*Pen-y-borth*,' Port's head, or Passage head." "Oh," he answered, "it is not a port or passage." "No," said I, "but it might have been the head or end of the port, or of a passage over the water in the olden time."

It is not certain that the name of Shaftesbury did not arise from a like mistake. The Saxons called it Sceaftes-byry, or the shaft or arrow stronghold; but it is said by some that the British name for it was "Caer-pell-o-ddwr," the stronghold far from water. If it were so, the Saxons might have mistaken Caer-pell-o-ddwr for Caer Paladr, which would mean "Shaft-bury," though the *S* would seem to betoken that Sceaft was a proper name.

NAMES OF STREAMS IN DORSET AND ELSEWHERE.

We have several rivers of the name of *Avon*, which is the Welsh for *a river*, as in "Dyro o'r Afon," "Come away from the river." And of other names

of our streams, some are common names of streams, like our words water, river, stream, brook, streamlet, rivulet, rill, gully; or else *adjectives* of the qualities of streams, as swift, slow, wide, small, winding, clear, muddy, sedgy, and others. Ystrad, in Welsh, means a river vale, or basin, as *Ystrad Tewi*, *Ystrad Yw*, in Wales; whence may come the *Stroud*, in Gloucestershire. G-ofer (G)over, is a rill; whence we may have Andover, that is, the *And* stream, or *An-dwfr* (Ann-doover), that is, the *Ann*-water, and Abbots *Ann*; thence South-over, North-over, East-over, West-over, Shot-over, Over Compton (Ofer-cwm-tún), Overton, in Hants, Over, in Cheshire, Llanover, in Monmouthshire, and, it may be, Ower, in Hants, and Owermain, in Dorset. Broadmayne, Littlemayne, and Friarmayne, seem to take their names from a small stream or thread of water, Nant Main. "Dwfr yn rhedeg yn f-main" is water running in a slender current. The *Lyme*, by Uplyme, and Lyme Regis, and Limburg, as well as that of Lymington, in Hants, and Leamington, in Warwick, and the *Leam*, in Northamptonshire, may be *y Llim*, the smooth-gliding stream; but the *Lea*, in Hertfordshire, is most likely *y Lli*, the stream. The *Medway* seems to be *y Mawddwy*, the spreading water, which is the name of a river in Wales, giving name to Llan-y-Mawddwy, and Dinas-y-Mawddwy. The *Caundle*, in Dorset, may be forms of *Canol*, as in

Canol-afon, a river channel, unless it were so called from "cawn," reeds. It gave name to the villages Bishop's Caundle, Stournton Caundle, and others. The *Corfe*, at Corfe Castle, and *Corfe* Mullen, like the river *Corver*, in Shropshire, seems to be the Saxon *Corf*, a cutting, or channel, from *Ceorfan*, to cut; as carpenters still call the saw-channel the *Kerf*. *Burne* is a Saxon word, meaning brook, stream; Chesel-burn, Ceosel-burn, pebble, or gravel brook; Winter-burn, Winterbrook, dry in summer; Burnham, brook-house, or homestead; Milbourne, millstream; Cranborne, crane-brook. The river *Teign*, or *Tyne*, is *yr afon Tain*, the Broad River; and the *Taaf*, in Wales, and *Tavy*, in Devonshire, and *Tamar*, are so called as *Afon Taf*, or Broad River. The *Nen*, of Northamptonshire, would seem to be "*y non*," the brook. The *Way*, by Ridgway, Broadway, Upway, and Weymouth is, in British, *y (G)wy*, the water, The *Wye*, in Wales, and in Bucks and Derbyshire, and the *Wey*, in Surrey and Hants, are all forms of *y (G)wy*, the water.

The name of *Dwr(g)wys*, Deep water, leads us to that of Durweston on the Stour, of which we learn from Hutchins that it anciently gave name to a family *Gouis (Gwys)*, and Durweston seems to be *Dwr-wys-tún;* and by placing the adjective before the noun, by the Welsh rule for the forming of a compound noun, we have *(G)wys-dwr*, which we

may believe was the British name of the several rivers in England of the name of *Stour*, in Saxon, *Stúr*. The Stour gives names to several places, as Stourhead, Stour-Provost, East and West Stour, Sturminster, Stour Paine. The name of the three or four rivers *Ouse* was most likely "*yr afon wys*," the Deep water. The *Bolder*, in Hampshire, may be "*y Byldwr*" (Buldwr), the brimful stream. The *k* or hard *c* clipping of Welsh and Saxon, which is retained in Scotland, has become *ch* or *s*, in English; and the Scotch kirk, brig, rig, breeks, are in English, church, bridge, ridge, and breeches; and the older forms of Cerne and Char, were *kern* and *car*, or *cor;* which, as *cor*, a stream at Dalwood, might have been the Welsh *cor*, *dwarf*, or small; and the *Char* might be in British, *y nant Cor*, or *Cornant;* and the *Cerne* might be *an cern*, the winding, like the streams on which stand Cirencester, the Roman *Corin-ium*, and the Churn in Wales and Staffordshire; and thence arose the names of Up Cerne, Cerne Abbas, Nether Cerne, Charminster, (Ccern Church), and *Charmouth*. Near Cirencester are two villages, North and South Cerney. It must be allowed, however, that Layaman, in the *Brut*, calls *Cerne*, *Kernel*, which would lead one to believe that the place might have been called "*y cornel*," the corner or angle of the stream or hills, or that the *Cern* was *y Corn*, the horn. The *Allen* is most

likely *yr afon alun*, the *main* or large stream, and the *Terig*, a small stream which runs into the Dorset *Allen*, may be the *Ter* or *Terog*, the *clear* stream. The Saxons, if not the Romans, chose rather the order *ks* or *cs* of the clippings *ks* or *cs*, than *sk* or *sc*, as in *acsian*, to *ask;* and *ps* rather than *sp* as in *waeps*, *wasp;* and so the British *y(g)wysg*, or Lloegrian "*an esk*," the *current*, the Celtic name of the *Usk* in Wales, and the *Esk* in Scotland, and of several streams in England, became, in Saxon, the *Ax* (Acs), or *Ex* (Ecs), whence arose the names of several places on the banks of such streams, as Axnoll (Ax-knowl), Axminster (Axchurch), Exmouth (Exeter), the Roman *Isca*, and the Roman *Ischalis*, *Ilchester*. "Yr afon Cam" (whence the Cam of Cambridge) is the crooked river.

The Froome gives names to several places, as Froome Saint Quinton, Chilfroome *(Cil Ffrwm*, Frome Corner), Frampton *(Ffroome-tún)*, Froome Whitfield, Froome Belet. The *Lyddan*, a branch of the Stour, and the Loddon (Hants and Berks), may be *Nant Llydan*, the broad brook, or *an Lodn*, the sluggish. The name of Wareham, and Durnovaria for Dorchester, might seem to betoken that one British name of the Frome was "*yr Avon War*," the smooth or placid river; or "*yr Avon Wair*," the luxuriant or grassy stream; and "*yr Avon Frwm*" (Froome), would mean much the same

as "*yr Avon Wair*," the river of luxuriant growth. Frum is still used in Wiltshire for luxuriant, in speaking of crops. "Yr Avon War," or "Wair," was very likely that of the *Wear*, which gives name to Waremouth, and which the Romans called *Vedra*. The *Piddle* or *Puddle*, which gives name to Piddletrenthide, Piddlehinton, Puddletown, Affpuddle, and other places, may be the *Pwll;* but the *Pils* of Somerset are most likely the British *Pil*, a Creek. The *Anton* of the Southampton water is most likely the Lloegrian "*an-Tôn*," the Tide, unless it be "y dwran-tôn," the waveless water. So the *Tone* or *Parret* in Somerset may be Tôn or Tide, or the *Afon Tôn*, the tide or wave river, from the tide or bore that flows up it. The *Don* by Donhead in Wilts and the *Tun* by Tunbridge, and the *Ton* in Northamptonshire may be "yr Afon Don," the spreading stream. The *Eden*, by which is Edinburgh, *Dun-eden*, in Scotland, and the *Eden*, in Westmoreland, and the others of the name, may be "yr Eden," the bird, or the flying stream. "Yr avon y-Buan," is the quick or fast stream, and may be the name of the *Bean*, in Hertfordshire. *Tern* is vehement, and might give the name of the *Tern* in Shropshire; the river *Brew*, in Somerset, is "y Lli bryw," the brisk stream. The *Dove*, a feeder of the Trent, is most likely "yr afon Dwf" (Doov), the gliding stream; "yr avon Rhe" (ray), is the fleet river,

whence the *Ray*, in Wiltshire, and the *Rye*, a feeder of the Derwent; "y Lli og," is the lively stream, and might have been the name of the *Ock*, in Berkshire, and *Ogburn*, in Wilts, and the stream of *Ockford*, in Dorset. The river *Derwent* is, I believe, "y Dwr-went," the water of the plain, or the fair water, and it may be the name of the *Tarrant*, in Dorset; but whether the *Trent* is a shortening of *Tarrant*, or the Welsh *Trent*, rapidity or impetuosity, I know not. The Dorset *Tarrant* gives name to several villages on its basin. "Yr Afon Llwg," would be the livid or bright river, as the *Lug*, in Herefordshire; "yr Afon Cain," the clear river, whence might have come the *Ken*, if not the *Kennett*, with the *Can*, in Essex, and Canford; "yr Afon Ddu" is the black or dark river, from *Du*, dee, black, and is the name of the *Dee*.

There are in Dorset and elsewhere villages of the name of *Winterborne*, and situated by winter brooks, which begin to run on the rising of their springs after the winter rains, but cease in the dry weather of summer. I hardly know whether *Selborne* is on a winter stream; but *Saelborne* would mean a constant brook. The streams *Birt*, on which are Beaminster and Bridport, and the *Bride* or *Bredy*, on which are Bridehead, Little Bredy, and Long Bredy, are, as one would think, in British *y Nant y*

Bryd, the *Season-brook*, from *pryd*, season or period, or the brook that runs in the winter, or what we call the winter burn; and the *Cale* that runs by Stalebridge and Wincanton, and the *Cal* in Wiltshire, may be *Nant Call*, the divergent or rambling brook. The *Devil's-Brook*, as it is called, and the *Devilish*, one of which runs into the *Frome*, and the other into the *Stour*, may be *dyfal*, *unceasing* streams, as distinguished from winter burns. From *Nydd* (neeth), turn or twist, may have come the name of the *Nid*, a feeder of the Ouse, the *Nith*, emptying into Solway Frith, and the *Nydd* or *Neath* in Wales. "Yr afon y Maran," is the silt or shifting mud or pebble river. Maran is also a spawning salmon, whence we may have had the name of the *Maran*, in Herefordshire. "Yr avon lwyn," is the quick, or quick turning river, and the *Loyn*, in Lancashire, might have been so called from Llwyn. The *Deben*, in Suffolk, may have been "y lli dibyn," the steep or headlong stream, if it is such an one. The *Calne*, in Wilts, and the *Coln*, in Bucks, bear the same name, though one hardly knows what it is, unless it is "y Callyn," the little rambling (stream). The *Chess*, in Buckingham, may be "y Ces," the *Ces*, divergency or angle; or "yr afon Cas," the divergent stream; whence the name of the *Cassi*. The stream *Sid* or *Sidin*, at Sidmouth, is most likely *y nant Sidin*, the winding

stream. The *Nadder*, in Wilts, was most likely "y neidr," the snake. "Yr afon (g)wili" means the bendy or turning river, and I suppose is the name of the *Wiley*, in Wilts, and of the stream on which stands Aber-gwilli (Gwilli-mouth) in Wales, and of the stream at Williton, emptying between Watchet and Quantoch-head, and of one flowing by Wilton into the Tone. "Ysnid," is a snipe, and "yr afon yr ysnid-au," would mean the snipe river, whence possibly comes the *Snyte* in Leicestershire.

The Maories of New Zealand, and other tribes, have, on the same natural grounds, bestowed names on their rivers, as from the Maori *wai*, water or river; *wai puke*, hill-water, freshet; *wai tangi*, sounding-water; *wai kokomuka*, Veronica water; *wai kirikiri*, Gravel-water (at Canterbury); *wai rukituki*, elbow, or crooked river; *wai koura*, cray-fish water; *wai roa*, long water; *wai ngongoro*, snoring or roaring water; *wai totara*, totara-tree water.

NAMES OF PLACES IN DORSET AND ELSEWHERE.

1. FROM THE FACE OF THE LAND.

In dealing with the etymologies of Celtic names of places in England, the *Lloegr* of the Britons, one would wish to know how far the dialect of *Lloegr* differed from that of the Cymru or Welsh. If the Cornish, rather than the Cymraeg or Welsh, bore the form of the Lloegr speech, the definite article was not *y*, but *an*. In Welsh "Where is the cow" is "Pa le'r yw *y* Buw." In Cornish, "Pa le 'r ew *an* Bew." So that we can hardly tell whether Encombe and Enford are *An-cwm*, the bottom, and *An-ffordd*, the way; or *En-cwm*, great bottom, and *Enffordd*, great way. *Cwm*, in Welsh, is a bottom or dell, and was taken with the same meaning by the Saxons, who sometimes took British names of *cwms*, and at other times set a Saxon epithet with the British *cwm*. *Bidcwm*, Bidcombe, near Critchell, may be hedge-bottom; *Burcwm*, Burcombe, inclosure or intrenchment bottom; *Cilcwm*, Chilcombe, recess or corner dell; *Cestcwm*, Chestcombe, glen-bottom; *Corscwm*, Corscombe, bog-bottom; *Encwm*, Encombe, the bottom, or great, or deep bottom; Luccombe, near Milton Abbey, *Lloccwm*, mound or dam bottom, or fold bottom; Melcombe, *Moelcwm*,

cone-hill, or high-hill, or bare-hill bottom; Motcombe, near Shaftesbury, *Modcwm*, inclosure or circle bottom; Liscombe, *Lluscwm*, billberry bottom; Widcombe (Somerset), *(G)wydd-cwm*, tree or wood bottom; Branscombe, Bran's bottom, or British, *Bran cwm*, crow bottom; Kentcombe, *Caintcwm* (?), plain or level bottom; Whatcombe, *(G)wadldcwm* (?), molebottom, as Waddon may be mole down, and Whaddock may be *(G)waddog*, the moley place; Compton is the *cwm-tún*, bottom homestead, and Combe Keynes and Coombe Flory are dells, taking their names from landowners. So in Wales we may find *Cwm bran*, crow bottom; *Cwm celyn*, holly bottom; *Cwm velyn*, yellow bottom; *Cwm avon*, river bottom; and *Glas cwm*, green bottom. *Cil* in British is a corner or recess, and by a well-known change in English clipping has become *chil*, whence Chilcombe, *cil cwm*, corner or recess bottom; Chilfroom, corner of the Frome; Chilton (Somerset), corner homestead; Chilworth, corner estate; Chiltern, corner of the *Tern* or rapid stream; and Chilcot, house in the corner; in Wales, *Cil-owain*, *Cil-gadan*, *Cil-fargen*. *Chal* in Chalbury, Chaldon, Calburn, may be another British word, *col*, a hill. From the Saxon *dún*, a down, or hill, British *Dwfn*, a *Dwn*, stronghold or hill fortress, or the Saxon Denu or Dene, we have the ending *don;* Blagdon, Bleakdown, or Blackdown; Lang-

don, Longdown; Brendon (Somerset), British *Bryn*, a hill; Chiseldon (Wilts), Gravel or Pebbledown. *Mor*, a moor, would give Blackmore and Puddimore, from *Pydew*, a quagmire. Conygre, near Witchampton, is *y cwnung-gaer*, that is, the rabbit-warren. *Pen*, a head or hill, would afford the name of Penn Zillwood, Pen Domer, Pen Fro (Pembroke), Landhead, Penrhyn, Head-land; Penard, *Penardd*, end of a bending ridge; Pencombe (Dell-end), seven miles from Leominster. *Cnol*, Saxon Head, a headlike hill, knop; Knowle (Purbeck); Cymmre (Welsh), hill joined to hill, whence may come Kimmeridge and Cumberland. The Saxon *Leag*, *leah*, English, *Lea*, *ley*, *leigh*, a plain or clearing or feeding ground, would give Leigh (in Dorset, Hants, and Oxon), Everleigh (Wilts), Baddesley, Durley, Botley (Hants), Bradley (Wilts), Leighton (in Hants and Beds). *Sceat*, region, part, corner, may have become *Shot* in Aldershot, Bramshot, Empshot, Ewshot, Evershot, Bagshot, Shotover.

Almer on the downs near Charborough, may be *Allmor*, a secluded spot. Creech Saint Michael and Evercreech and Critchell, may be from *Crug* (creeg), a hillock or mound, whence may come Cricklade (Wilts); *Efwr-crug* (Evoor-creeg) would mean *Cowparsnip-knoll;* as *Dinefwr* (Din-evoor), in Wales, is *Cowparsnip-ton*, from the growth of the cowparsnip in its neighbourhood. The British name of

York, *Caer-efrog* might be *Caer-efworog*, in Latin *Eboracum*, *Cowparsnip castle*. *Dene Denu* (English), Deane, *den*, a valley or low ground, gives Deane (Wilts, Hants, and Beds), Deene (Northampton), Deenthorpe, Finch-dean (Hants), Denham (Bucks), Dene-ham, Dean-home: Denton (Hants, Oxford), *Dene-tún*, Dean Hamlet. Lewell and Gorwell seem to be the British *Llywel* and *Gorwel*, two names for the skyline or horizon, and so suited for a high ridge or table land. From the British *Moel*, a conical or bald hill, we have Melcombe *(Moel-cwm)*, hill-bottom; Melbury, hill-earthwork; Melburn, hill-brook. From the Saxon *Ceosel*, gravel or sand, we have Chesilbeach, and Chiseldon (Wilts); Chesel-burn, the gravel-stream; Chiselboro, Ceosel-burh, the gravel-stronghold. The British *Cors*, a bog, would yield *Corscwm*, Corscombe, Corston, &c., From *Gwyn* or *Gwen*, white or fair, we may have Winford, *y (g)wynfford*, and Winfrith, *y (g)wynffrid*, the white enclosure, though a learned Welsh scholar and friend believes that *Winfrith* is *y (g)winffridd*, the vineyard, and that the vine was formerly cultivated at the place. The oldest Welsh writings speak of wine, though I know not whether it was homegrown or imported. Under William the Conqueror there were vineyards in Essex, Middlesex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Bucks, Gloucester, and Worcester.

Peverel, *Pefrol*, (Welsh) shining, bright. Would it mean a bright or white cliff? Lydiard is most likely the British *Llidiart*, a gate, though I know not whether it was a handmade gate, or a natural passage, that suggested the name. *Weald* (English), wald, wild, is a wood, a wild place, whence came Waltham, weald-home; Walton, weald-hamlet, and Wold or Weald. *Bearw*, in Saxon, a wood, or woody-hill, yields Bere Regis, Bere Hackett, Todber (Todbere), Bushwood. *Holt*, a wood, forms Alderholt, Lincolnholt. *Hurst* is in Saxon a wood or woodland, whence we have Brokenhurst, Badger Woodland; Lindhurst, Linden tree Woodland; Hurst-bourne (Hants), Woodland-brook. *Bedwen*, in British, is a birch tree or May-pole, whence we have Bedwin, and Pant-y-fedwin, birchtree-bottom, in Wales. Mapledurwell (Hants) and Mapowder (Dorset) may be from the Saxon *Mapledur*, a maple. The British *Efwr*, cowparsnip, or the Saxon *Eafor*, a wild boar, may yield Evershot, Everton (Hants), Eversley. From *Broc*, in Saxon, a badger, we have Brokenhurst, badger-wood; Brockburn, badger-brook; Brockley, badger-field.

NAMES OF PLACES.

2. FROM ABODES, ETC.

Bur (Saxon) lodge, cottage, dwelling; whence *Bower*, lady's bower, Burton, Bourton, Bùr-tùn. *Worth* (Saxon), manor or mansion; Bloxworth, Blocesworth, or Blaecesworth, Bloc's manor; Emsworth, Em's manor; Lulworth; Worth Matravers, the manor of Matravers; Chilworth, Corner manor. *Grange*, farm-house, villa. *Ham*, (Saxon) home, (English) home, (German) heim, dwelling, farm; Swineham, Burnham, Tyneham, Odiham, Gillingham, Hammoon (Ham-Mohun). A.S. *Stoc* (English) Stoke, a place; Stoke Wake, Stoke Poges, Stoke (Oxon); Bishop's Stoke, East Stoke, D.; Stoke Abbas, D.; Basing Stoke. From *Stoc*, stick or wood, we may have Stockwood (Dorset), Stock Gayland (Dorset), Stockton (Wilts), Adstock (Bucks), Odstock (Wilts). *Wic* (Saxon), station for ships, or cattle, dwelling; Greenwic, Greenwich; Swanwic, Swanage; Wytch (Dorset); Sandwic, Sandwich; Berwick. *Straet* (Saxon), *ystryd* (Welsh), hard road, Roman road, street; *Stratton*, Straet-tùn. *Chipping* is from the Saxon *ceaping*, trading, market; thence Chippenham, Ceapinghám, market abode; Chipping Norton, Chipping Sodbury, Chipping Ongar, Cheapside, Chepstow. *Beorg-an*, to keep,

hold, screen, hide, to pledge; thence to bury, to borrow. *Beorh*, a place, or an act of keeping, holding, screening, or hiding safe; a pledge, a stronghold, an earthwork, a castle, and thence a castle town, or borough, a barrow, a burrow; whence the ending *bury* in the names of places: Stoborough, stronghold place; Woodbury, wood-fastness; Poundbury, pound-like fastness; Abbotsbury, Abbot's Castle, Banbury, high-fastness. All places ending with *Chester*, the Roman *castra*, Saxon *ceastèr*, were Roman stations, as Dorchester, Winchester, Westminster, Chichester, Ilchester. *Minster* in the name of a place betokens that it was the site of a church or monastery, *mynster*, in Saxon times: Axminster, Bedminster, Beaminster, Charminster, Sturminster, Warminster, Westminster, Yetminster.

Ton, the common ending of English names of places, is the Saxon *tún*, which meant at first a fence or inclosure. If a Saxon settled on his land, he would build a house, and in those times of wolves and other prowlers, would fence in his dwelling and cattle yards, which would be called, collectively, the *tún*, a word which was afterwards carried on to a *hamlet*, a village, and a *town*. When *ton*, in the name of a place, follows *ings* or even *s*, there are grounds for believing that the former part of it is the name of the Saxon or an early owner of the

tún; Brianston, Catherston, Godmanston, Grimston, Kingston, Clenston, Randolfston, Aggleston. *Ing* was the Saxon ending of a patronymic, or a stock or clan name; as *Etheling* was the son of an *Ethel*, or king, or noble, and Ethelward says that the descendants of *Esc* called themselves *Esings*. So the clan of *Her* would be *Herrings;* and that of *Hard*, *Hardings;* of *Blaec*, *Blaecings;* and the tún of Herring would be Herringstún; of Scylling, Scyllingestún; of Harding, Hardingestún. Alla, Ella, Alling, Allington; Esa, Eisc, Essing, Essington; Cead, Cad, Chad, Ceading, Ceadingtún, Cheddington; Hard, Harding, Hardington; Heor, Her, Herring, Herringston; Horsa, Horsing, Horsington; Sceal, Scylling, Shillingston; thence Afflington, Baltington, Cucklington, Elsington, Ilsington, Nottington, Osmington, Wellington. When *s* does not precede the *ton*, it is less likely, but yet possible, that the former part of the name is that of the owner, but in many cases it is not so; as Bourton and Burton, Búr-tún, Cottage, or Lodge-tún; Bruton, Brew (river); Compton, Cwm, a dell; Castleton, Castle; Frampton, Frome (river); Downton, Down; Hinton, Helton (Hèl *Br*-dell); Langton, Longtoún; Newton, New; Moreton, Mooreton; Milton, Milton; Stanton, Stoneton; Easton, Weston, Norton, Northton; Sutton, Southton; Wilton, Wily-(river)-ton, Ibberton. *Ing* is sometimes affixed to the

name of a place to form a tribe name, meaning a person of the place; Brytfordings (Hants), Britford-men; Brómleáging (Kent), Bromley people; Dentúningas (Northampton), Denton-men; Fearnbeorging (Kent), Farnborough-men; Purbicingas (Dorset), Purbeck-men; Uggafording (Wilts), Uggford-men; Wudutuning (Hants), Wootton-men; Glaesting (Somerset), Glastonbury-men; Fording (Dorset), Ford-people of Fordington; Leaming (Warwick, York, Gloucester), the Leam (river) people.

Dwfr (Doover), in British, is water or waters, Mitcheldever, michol-dwfr, swift water.(?) Candover, in Hants, *Caindwfr*, clear water.(?) Wendover (Bucks), *Gwendwfr*, fair water.(?) *Holm* (Saxon), 1, water, 2, island, 3, low ground by water, whence the Steep and Flat Holmes, and Holme (Dorset). *Porth* (Welsh), harbour for boats or ships, a passage, a gate; Portsmouth, Portishead, Portbury, Portland, Amport (Hants), Langport, Gosport. (Welsh) *Pwll*, (Cornish) *Pol*, (English) *Pool*; Radipole (British), *Rhedeg-pwll*, flowing pool or tide pool, or (English) Reedy Pool; Bradpole, Broad-pool, thence Pool (Dorset), Liver-pool, Flag-pool. *Pwll*, a Pool, may be the name of Poole, and of the stream Puddle, Piddle, which might have been called nant y *Pwll* or *Pyllan*, that is Poolybrook. *Aern* (Saxon), place, abode; or *Arn* (British), division, peninsula; *Arne* (Dorset), so east-ern, east-place, west-ern,

south-ern, north-ern, Pimp-ern (Dorset), Crewk-erne (Somerset), Chittern (Wilts), Mint-ern (Dorset), Pottern (Wilts). When *t* comes before *ern*, caution is needful, lest we take the Saxon *Arne*, or *Aerne*, for the British *tern*, which seems to be an epithet of a brisk *stream*.

Great light is cast on the Saxons' naming of places, and on the face of their land, by the boundaries of lands in the charters of the Saxon monasteries, as in those of Abingdon, whence we may learn where the Saxons, nearly a thousand years ago, found on spots of our land, a heathen burial ground, a war camp, a military way, a waggon road, a moor, a marsh, a beaver water, a mill, a millpath, or even an appletree, an ash, an elder bush, or five thorns, or a patch of flax, or a bed of rushes.

WHERE IN DORSET WAS THE ROMAN STATION "IBERNIUM?"

Both Romans and Saxons, on their abode in Britain, took or bestowed names of rivers, hills, and places, as the English have in America and Australia, where they have in some cases taken names from the languages of the natives, and in others have bestowed new ones of their own. Thus

in America the *Mississippi* bears the Cree name *Missow Seepee*, the Great Water, while the *Delaware* is called by an English one; and in Australia we have bestowed the name of the *Murray*, and taken from the natives *Yarra-yarra*. So in Britain, many, if not most, of the names of the Roman stations in the Itineraries or other Latin writings are formed of British ones; and while the Saxons retained some forms of many of the British names of the streams, and of villages, and valleys, they also bestowed many new ones from their own tongue. But when a name or word is taken from one language into another, it often undergoes a change of form, so as to be fitted to the form of the word-taking language, and to the settings of the organs of speech of the word-taking nation. We are more ready to call *Lyons* and *Rheims* (in France,) *Lie-onz* and *Rhimes*, than to pronounce it the French way; and more likely to cast *Zurich* and *Shafhausen* in Switzerland, *Coruna* and *Badajoz*, in Spain, *Shiraz*, in Persia, *Llangollen*, in Wales, into forms which suit our own language, than to take them as they are on the tongues of their inhabitants. In seeking the etymologies of the names of places in England, we should bear in mind not only that the names of one nation are modified by another, but that in England names may have been bestowed by either Britons, Romans, or Saxons, and modified by

the speech of a later nation, or a later age; and we must learn what kind of modification a British name would undergo in the mouth of a Roman, or a British or Roman one on the tongue of an Englishman. In our searches into British, Roman, or Saxon names, we must trace the uncertain from the certain, and it happens that we have, from Latin writers, names of men and places of which we have the British names in Welsh. The Roman *Cassivelaunus* is the British *Casswellawn*, as *Dubris* is *Dwfr*, and *Branogenium*, *Wrangon*. The Latin *Eboracum* is the British *Efrawg*, *Sabrina* is *Hafren*, and *Abona* is *Afon*. Whence it appears that the Latin *b* stands sometimes for the British *w* or *f (v)*. Now there was somewhere in Dorset a Roman station called *Ibernium*, the place of which is not yet quite made out; though some think it was at *Blandford*, and others at *Bere Regis*, and others place it between *Blandford* and *Shaftesbury*. If, however, we take *Ibernium*, and throw away the Latin ending, we shall have *Ibern;* and then if we take *w* or *v* instead of the *b*, we have *Iwern* or *Ivern;* but *y(g)wern* in Welsh means a *swamp*, and at the parish of *Iwerne*, between Blandford and Shaftesbury, is a breadth of swampy meadow, on the other side of which rise *Hodhill* and *Hambledon*, on one of which was a Roman, as well as a *British camp*, and I take it to have been the Roman station *Ibernium*. That part

of the Stour, on which stood the Roman station of Canterbury, was almost certainly called in British *Dwr-y-wern* or *Dwrwern*, the swamp water, from which was formed the Roman name of the station *Durobernium* or *Durovernia*. The name of *Pengwern* Swamphead, is found in Wales, where there are also *Llan-wern* or Swampton; *Llwyn-gwern*, Bush-swamp; *Gwernddu*, Blackswamp; *Caewern*, Swamp-field in Glamorgan. Yet we should own—which shows the need of great care in the application of etymology to such a subject—that the Saxon Ea-arne, *Ewe-aern*, the water abode, would suit the village.

THE END.

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